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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS,

BY

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

VAKIL HIGH COURT
BOMBAY.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS

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IN

ENGLAND,

BY

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

1568

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION, &c.

BOOK VII.

WHEN the treaty was first consented to by the two houses, they ordered that it should be upon the first proposition made by his majesty, and the first proposition made by themselves, and that those should be first concluded on, before they proceeded to treat upon any of the other propositions. So that the committee, in the first place, applied themselves to his majesty, upon his own first proposition, which was, "That his own re-"venue, magazines, towns, forts, and ships, which "had been taken, or kept from him by force, "should be forthwith restored to him." To which the committee answered, "That the two houses "had made use of his majesty's own revenue, but "in a very small proportion, which in a good part "had been employed in the maintenance of his "children, according to the allowance established "by himself. And the houses would satisfy what "should remain due to his majesty of those sums,

" which they had received; and would leave the
" same to him for the time to come. And they
" desired likewise, that his majesty would restore
" what had been taken for his use, upon any of the
" bills, assigned to other purposes by several acts of
" parliament, or out of the provision made for the
" war of Ireland: that all the arms and ammuni-
" tion taken out of his magazines should be deli-
" vered into his stores, and whatsoever should be
" wanting, they would supply in kind, according
" to the proportions they had received: but they
" proposed, the persons, to whose charge those
" public magazines should be committed, being
" nominated by his majesty, might be such, as the
" two houses of parliament might confide in, and
" that his majesty would restore all such arms and
" ammunition, as had been taken for his use, from
" the several counties, cities, and towns.

" That the two houses would remove the garri-
" sons out of all towns and forts in their hands,
" wherein there were no garrisons before these
" troubles, and slight all fortifications made since
" that time, and those towns and forts to continue
" in the same condition they were in before; and
" that those garrisons should not be renewed, or
" the fortifications repaired, without consent of his
" majesty, and both houses of parliament. That
" the towns and forts, which were within the
" jurisdiction of the cinque ports, should be deli-
" vered into the hands of such a noble person, as
" the king should appoint to be warden of the
" cinque ports, being such a one as they should
" confide in. That Portsmouth should be reduced
" to the number of the garrison, as was at that

" time when the lords and commons undertook the " custody of it; and that all other forts, castles, " and towns, in which garrisons had been kept, " and had been since the beginning of these trou- " bles taken into their care and custody, should be " reduced to the same establishment they had in " the year 1636, and should be so continued; and " that all those towns, forts, and castles, should be " delivered up into the hands of such persons of " quality and trust, to be likewise nominated by " his majesty, as the two houses should confide in. " That the warden of the cinque ports, and all " governors and commanders of towns, castles, " and forts, should keep the same towns, castles, " and forts, respectively, for the service of his ma- " jesty, and the safety of the kingdom; and that " they should not admit into them any foreign " forces, or any other forces raised without his " majesty's authority, and consent of the two " houses of parliament; and they should use their " utmost endeavours to suppress all forces whatso- " ever raised without such authority and consent; " and they should seize all arms and ammunition " provided for any such forces.

" They likewise proposed to the king, that he " would remove the garrison out of Newcastle, " and all other towns, castles, and forts, where " any garrisons had been placed by him since " these troubles; and that the fortifications might " be likewise slighted, and the towns and forts " left in such state as they were in the year 1636; " and that all other towns and castles in his hands, " wherein there had been formerly garrisons, might " be committed to such persons nominated by him,

" as the houses should confide in, and under such " instructions as were formerly mentioned; and " that the new garrisons should not be renewed, " or the fortifications repaired, without the con- " sent of the king and both houses of parliament. " That the ships should be delivered into the " charge of such a noble person, as the king " should nominate to be lord high admiral of " England, and the two houses confide in; who " should receive that office by letters patents, *quam* " *diu se bene gesserit*, and should have power to " nominate and appoint all subordinate command- " ers and officers, and have all other powers ap- " pertaining to the office of high admiral; which " ships he should employ for the defence of the " kingdom, against all foreign forces whatsoever, " and for the safeguard of merchants, securing of " trade, and the guarding of Ireland, and the in- " tercepting of all supplies to be carried to the " rebels; and should use his utmost endeavours to " suppress all forces, which should be raised by " any person without his majesty's authority, and " consent of the lords and commons in parliament, " and should seize all arms and ammunition pro- " vided for supply of any such forces."

To this answer, by which they required at least to go whole sharers with him in his sovereignty, the king replied, "That he knew not what propor- " tion of his revenue had been made use of by his " two houses, but he had reason to believe, if " much of it had not been used, very much re- " mained still in their hands; his whole revenue " being so stopped, and seized on, by the orders " of one or both houses, even to the taking of his

" money out of his exchequer and mint, and bonds " (forced from his cofferer's clerk) for the provi- " sions of his household; that very little had come " to his use for his own support; but he would be " well contented to allow whatsoever had been " employed in the maintenance of his children, " and to receive the arrears due to himself, and to " be sure of his own for the future. He was like- " wise willing to restore all monies taken for his " use, by any authority for him, upon any bills " assigned to other purposes, being assured he " had received very little or nothing that way: " and he expected likewise, that satisfaction should " be made by them for all those several vast sums, " received, and diverted to other purposes, [by " orders of one or both houses,] which ought to " have been paid by the act of pacification to his " subjects of Scotland, or employed for the dis- " charge of the debts of the kingdom; or, by " other acts of parliament, for the relief of his " poor protestant subjects in Ireland. For what " concerned his magazines, he was content that " all the arms and ammunition, taken out of his " magazines, which did remain in the hands of " both houses, or of persons employed by them, " should be, as soon as the treaty was concluded, " delivered into the Tower of London; and that " whatsoever should be wanting of the proportions " taken by them, should be supplied by them, with " all convenient speed, in kind; which, he said, " should be committed to, and continued in, the " custody of the sworn officers, to whose places " the same belonged: and if any of those officers " had already forfeited, or hereafter should forfeit,

" that trust, by any misdemeanours, his majesty " would by no means defend them from the justice " of the law. That he always intended to restore " such arms and ammunition, which he had been " compelled to take from any persons and places, " when his own had been taken from him; and " would make them recompense as soon as his own " stores were restored to him.

" To whatsoever they proposed for the slighting " all fortifications, and reducing all garrisons, which " had been made since the beginning of the trou- " bles, and leaving them in the state they were " before, the king fully and absolutely consented; " and that the old castles and garrisons should be " reduced to their ancient proportion and estab- " lishment: but for the governors and command- " ers of them, he said, that the cinque ports were " already in the custody of a noble person, against " whom he knew no just exception, and who had " such a legal interest therein, that he could not, " with justice, remove him from it, until some suf- " ficient cause were made appear to him: but he " was very willing, if he should at any time be " found guilty of any thing that might make him " unworthy of that trust, that he might be pro- " ceeded against according to the rules of justice. " That the government of the town of Portsmouth, " and all other forts, castles, and towns, as were " formerly kept by garrisons, should be put into " the hands of such persons, against whom no just " exceptions could be made; all of them being, " before these troubles, by letters patents granted " to several persons, against any of whom he knew " not any exceptions who should be removed, if

"just cause should be given for the same. The "warden of the cinque ports, and all other gover- "nors and commanders of the towns and castles, "should keep their charges, as by the law they "ought to do, and for the king's service, and "safety of the kingdom; and they should not "admit into any of them foreign forces, or other "forces raised, and brought into them contrary "to the law; but should use their utmost en- "deavours to suppress such forces, and should "seize all arms and ammunition, which, by the "laws and statutes of the kingdom, they ought to "seize."

To that part which concerned the ships, the king told them, "That he expected his own ships should "be delivered to him, as by the law they ought to "be; and that when he should think fit to nomi- "nate a lord high admiral of England, it should "be such a person against whom no just exception "could be made; and if any should be, he would "always leave him to his due trial and examina- "tion; and he would grant his office to him by "such letters patents as had been used. In the "mean time he would govern the admiralty by "commission, as had been in all times accustomed; "and whatsoever ships should be set out by him, "or his authority, should be employed for the de- "fence of the kingdom against all foreign forces "whatsoever, for the safeguard of merchants, "securing of trade, guarding of Ireland, and the "intercepting of all supplies to be carried to the "rebels; and they should use their utmost endea- "vours to suppress all forces which should be "raised, by any person whatsoever, against the

" laws and statutes of the kingdom, and to seize " all arms and ammunition provided for the supply " of any such forces."

It is evident to all men where the difference now lay between them, being whether the king would reserve the disposal of those offices and places of trust to himself, which all kings had enjoyed, and was indeed a part of his regality, or whether he would be content with such a nomination, as, being to pass, and depend upon their approbation, no man should ever be admitted to them, who was nominated by him. The committee, upon his answer, desired to know, " if he did intend, that both " houses should express their confidence of the " persons, to whose trust those places were to be " committed; for that they were directed by their " instructions, that, if his majesty was pleased to " assent thereunto, and to nominate persons of " quality to receive the charge of them, that they " should certify it to both houses of parliament, " that thereupon they might express their confi- " dence in those persons, or humbly desire his ma- " jesty to name others, none of which persons to " be removed during three years next ensuing, " without just cause to be approved by both houses; " and if any should be so removed, or die within " that space, the persons, to be put in their places, " to be such as the two houses should confide in." The king answered, " That he did not intend, that " the houses should express their confidence of the " persons, to whose trusts those places should be " committed, but only that they should have liberty, " upon any just exception, to proceed against any " such persons according to law; his majesty be-

"ing resolved not to protect them against the "public justice.' When any of the places should "be void, he well knew the nomination, and free "election, of those who should succeed, to be a "right belonging to and inherent in his majesty; "and having been enjoyed by all his royal proge- "nitors, he could not believe his well affected sub- "jects desired to limit him in that right; and de- "sired they would be satisfied with this answer, or "give him any reasons to alter his resolution, and "he would comply with them."

They told him, "there could be no good and "firm peace hoped for, if there were not a cure "found out for the fears and jealousies; and they "knew none sure, but this which they had pro- "posed." The king replied, "That he rather "expected reasons grounded upon law, to have "shewed him, that by the law he had not that "right he pretended, or that they had a right supe- "rior to his, in what was now in question; or that "they would have shewed him some legal reason, "why the persons trusted by him were incapable "of such a trust; than that they would only have "insisted upon fears and jealousies, of which as he "knew no ground, so he must be ignorant of the "cure. That the argument they used might extend "to the depriving him of, or at least sharing with "him in, all his just regal power; since power, as "well as forces, might be the object of fears and "jealousies, and there would be always a power "left to hurt, whilst there was any left to protect "and defend." He told them, "If he had as much "inclination, as he had more right, to fears and "jealousies, he might with more reason have in-

" sisted upon an addition of power, as a secu-
" rity to enable him to keep his forts, when he
" had them, since it appeared it was not so great,
" but that they had been able to take them from
" him, than they to make any difficulty to restore
" them to him in the same case they were before.
" But, he said, as he was himself content with, so,
" he took God to witness, his greatest desire was, to
" observe always and maintain the law of the land;
" and expected the same from his subjects; and
" believed the mutual observance of that rule, and
" neither of them to fear what the law feared not,
" to be, on both parts, a better cure for that dan-
" gerous disease of fears and jealousies, and a better
" means to establish a happy and perpetual peace,
" than for him to divest himself of those trusts,
" which the law of the land had settled in the crown
" alone, to preserve the power and dignity of the
" prince, for the better protection of the subject,
" and of the law, and to avoid those dangerous
" distractions, which the interest of any sharers
" with him would have infallibly produced."

The committee neither offered to answer his majesty's reasons, nor to oppose other reasons to weigh against them; but only said, " That they " were commanded by their instructions, to insist " upon the desires of both houses formerly ex-" pressed." To which the king made no other answer, " than that he conceived it all the justice in " the world for him to insist, that what was by law " his own, and had been contrary to law taken " from him, should be fully restored to him, with-" out conditioning to impose any new limitations " upon him, or his ministers, which were not for-

"merly required from them by the law; and he "thought it most unreasonable, to be pressed to "diminish his own just rights himself, because "others had violated and usurped them." This was the sum of what passed in the treaty upon that proposition.

To the first proposition of the two houses, "That "his majesty would be pleased to disband his "armies, as they likewise would be ready to dis- "band all their forces, which they had raised, and "that he would be pleased to return to his par- "liament;" the king answered, "That he was "as ready and willing that all armies should be "disbanded, as any person whatsoever; and con- "ceived the best way to it, would be a happy and "speedy conclusion of the present treaty; which, "if both houses would contribute as much as he "would do to it, would be suddenly effected. "And as he desired nothing more than to be with "his two houses, so he would repair thither as "soon as he could possibly do it with his honour "and safety."

The committee asked him, "if by a happy and "speedy conclusion of the present treaty, he in- "tended a conclusion upon the two first proposi- "tions, or a conclusion of the treaty in all the pro- "positions of both parts." The king, who well knew it would be very ungracious to deny the dis- banding of the armies, till all the propositions were agreed, some whereof would require much time, answered, "That he intended such a conclusion "of, or in the treaty, as there might be a clear "evidence to himself, and his subjects, of a future "peace, and no ground left for the continuance or

" growth of those bloody dissensions; which, he " doubted not, might be obtained, if both houses " would consent that the treaty should proceed " without farther interruption, or limitation of " days." They asked him, " What he intended " should be a clear evidence to him, and his good " subjects, of a future peace, and no ground left " for the continuance and growth of those bloody " dissensions?" His majesty told them, " If the " conclusion of the present treaty upon his first " proposition, and the first proposition of both " houses, should be so full, and perfectly made, " that the law of the land might have a full, free, " and uninterrupted course, for the defence and " preservation of the rights of his majesty, and of " themselves, and the rest of his subjects, there " would be thence a clear evidence to him, and all " men, of a future peace; and it would be such a " conclusion as he intended, never meaning that " both armies should remain undisbanded until " the propositions on both sides were fully con- " cluded." To the other clause of their own proposition concerning the king's return to the parliament, they said, " they had no instructions to " treat upon it;" which the king much wondered at; and finding that they had no other authority to treat, or debate what was necessary to be done in order to disbanding, but only to press him to appoint a day for the actual disbanding; and that the forces in the north, where he had a great army, and they had none, might be first disbanded, he endeavoured to draw them to some propositions upon his return to the parliament; from whence expedients would naturally result, if they pursued

that heartily, which would conclude a general peace. And it seemed very strange, that, after so many discourses of the king's absence from the houses, from whence they had taught the people to believe that most of the present evils flowed and proceeded, when a treaty was now entered upon, and that was a part of their own first proposition, that their committee should have no instructions or authority to treat upon it. In the end, they received new instructions, "to declare to his majesty the desire "of both houses, for his coming to his parliament; "which, they said, they had often expressed with "full offers of security to his royal person, agree-"able to their duty and allegiance, and they knew "no cause why he might not repair thither with "honour and safety." When the king found he could not engage them in that argument to make any particular overture, or invitation to him; and that the committee, who expressed willingness enough, had not in truth the least power to promote, or contribute to, an accommodation, lest they should make the people believe, that he had a desire to continue the war, because he consented not to their proposition of disbanding the armies, he sent this message, by an express of his own, to the two houses, after he had first communicated it to their committee.

Oxford, April 12*th*, 1643.

"To shew to the whole world, how earnestly his majesty longs for peace, and that no success shall make him desire the continuance of his army to any other end, or for any longer time, than that, and until, things may be so settled, as

" that the law may have a full, free, and uninter-
" rupted course, for the defence and preservation
" of the rights of his majesty, both houses, and his
" good subjects:

1. " As soon as his majesty is satisfied in his
" first proposition, concerning his own revenue,
" magazines, ships, and forts, in which he desires
" nothing, but that the just, known, legal rights of
" his majesty, (devolved to him from his pro-
" genitors,) and of the persons trusted by him,
" which have violently been taken from both, be
" restored unto him, and unto them; unless any
" just and legal exception against any of the per-
" sons trusted by him (which are yet unknown to
" his majesty) can be made appear to him:

2. " As soon as all the members of both houses
" shall be restored to the same capacity of sitting
" and voting in parliament, as they had upon the
" first of January 1641; the same, of right, be-
" longing unto them by their birthrights, and the
" free election of those that sent them; and having
" been voted from them for adhering to his majesty
" in these distractions; his majesty not intending
" that this should extend either to the bishops,
" whose votes have been taken away by bill, or to
" such, in whose places, upon new writs, new elec-
" tions have been made:

3. " As soon as his majesty, and both houses,
" may be secured from such tumultuous assemblies,
" as to the great breach of the privileges, and the
" high dishonour of parliaments, have formerly
" assembled about both houses, and awed the
" members of the same; and occasioned two seve-
" ral complaints from the lords' house, and two

" several desires of that house to the house of " commons, to join in a declaration against them; " the complying with which desire might have " prevented all these miserable distractions, which " have ensued; which security, his majesty con- " ceives, can be only settled by adjourning the " parliament to some other place, at the least " twenty miles from London, the choice of which " his majesty leaves to both houses:

" His majesty will most cheerfully and readily " consent, that both armies be immediately dis- " banded, and give a present meeting to both his " houses of parliament at the time and place, at " and to which the parliament shall be agreed to " be adjourned: his majesty being most confident, " that the law will then recover due credit and " estimation; and that upon a free debate, in a full " and peaceable convention of parliament, such " provisions will be made against seditious preach- " ing, and printing against his majesty, and the " established laws, which have been one of the " chief causes of the present distractions, and such " care will be taken concerning the legal and " known rights of his majesty, and the property " and liberty of his subjects, that whatsoever hath " been published, or done, in or by colour of any " illegal declaration, ordinance, or order of one or " both houses, or any committee of either of them, " and particularly the power to raise arms without " his majesty's consent, will be in such manner " recalled, disclaimed, and provided against, that " no seed will remain for the like to spring out of " for the future, to disturb the peace of the king- " dom, and to endanger the very being of it. And

"in such a convention his majesty is resolved, by "his readiness to consent to whatsoever shall be "proposed to him, by bill, for the real good of his "subjects, (and particularly for the better dis- "covery and speedier conviction of recusants; for "the education of the children of papists by pro- "testants in the protestant religion; for the pre- "vention of practices of papists against the state; "and the due execution of the laws, and true levy- "ing of the penalties against them,) to make "known to all the world, how causeless those fears "and jealousies have been, which have been raised "against him; and by that so distracted this "miserable kingdom. And if this offer of his "majesty be not consented to, (in which he asks "nothing for which there is not apparent justice "on his side, and in which he defers many things "highly concerning both himself and people, till "a full and peaceable convention of parliament, "which in justice he might now require,) his "majesty is confident, that it will then appear to "all the world, not only who is most desirous of "peace, and whose fault it is that both armies are "not now disbanded; but who have been the true "and first cause, that this peace was ever inter- "rupted, or those armies raised; and the begin- "ning or continuance of the war, and the destruc- "tion and desolation of this poor kingdom (which "is too likely to ensue) will not, by the most "interessed, passionate, or prejudicate person, be "imputed to his majesty."

To this message the two houses returned no answer to the king, but required the committee to return to Westminster (having been in Oxford

with his majesty just twenty days) with such positive circumstances, that the house of commons enjoined their members to begin their journey the same day; which they obeyed; though it was so late, that they were forced to very inconvenient accommodations; and at their return, some of them were looked upon with great jealousy, as persons engaged by the king, and disinclined to the parliament; and this jealousy prevailed so far, that Mr. Martin opened a letter from the earl of Northumberland to his wife, presuming he should therein have discovered some combination; and this insolence was not disliked.

Many were of opinion, that the king was too severe in this treaty, and insisted too much upon what is his own by right and law; and that if he would have distributed offices and places liberally to particular men, which had been a condescension in policy to be submitted to, he might have been repossessed of his own power. And I have heard this alleged by many, who at that time were extremely violent against all such artifices. The committee themselves (who at that time perfectly abhorred the proceedings of the parliament, or rather the power and superiority of the earl of Essex) seemed exceedingly desirous of such an accommodation, as all good men desired; and to believe, that if the king would have condescended so far, as to nominate the earl of Northumberland to be lord high admiral, that it would have made so great a division in the houses, that the treaty would have been continued, and his majesty been satisfied in all the other propositions. And the earl of Northumberland, to private friends, did

make as full professions of future service to his majesty, and as ample recognitions of past errors and mistakes, as could reasonably be expected from a wary nature, before he could be sure what reception such professions and vows would find. But the king thought the power and interest of that committee would be able to do little, if it could not prevail for the enlarging the time of the treaty, in which they seemed heartily to engage themselves. And he was resolved at least to have a probable assurance of the conclusion, before he would offer such concessions, as taking no effect might prove prejudicial to him: as the nominating the earl of Northumberland to be admiral (though he would willingly have done it, as the price and pledge of an honourable peace) would have discontented all who had, how unreasonably soever, promised themselves that preferment; and many would have imputed it to an unseasonable easiness, (from which imputation it concerned the king, at that time, as much to purge himself, as of unmercifulness and revenge,) upon promises and hopes, to have readmitted a man to a charge and trust, he had so fatally betrayed and broken, against more solemn promises and obligations, than he could now enter into; and therefore it concerned the king to be sure of some advantage, in lieu of this visible hazard.

I am one of those, who do believe that this obligation, at this time, laid upon the earl of Northumberland, with such other circumstances of kindness as would have been fit to accompany it, would have met real gratitude and faithfulness in him, (for as, originally, he had, I am persuaded,

no evil purposes against the king; so he had now sufficient disdain and indignation against those who got him to tread their ways, when he had not their ends,) and that it would have made some rent and division in the two houses, (which could not but have produced some benefit to the king,) and that it might probably have procured some few days' addition for the continuance of the treaty; the avowed ground of denying it being, because the king had not, in the least degree, consented to any one thing proposed by them: but, I confess, I cannot entertain any imagination, that it would have produced a peace,* or given the king any advantage, or benefit in the war: what inconvenience it might have produced hath been touched before. For, besides that the stirring and active party, who carried on the war, were neither gracious to the earl of Northumberland, nor he to them, their favourite at sea being then the earl of Warwick, who had the possession of the fleet, and whom alone they believed fit to be trusted with the navy; whoever calls to mind what was done in the houses, during the time of the treaty, and by their directions; that by their own authority they directed all the lands of bishops, deans, and chapters, to be sequestered, and inhibited their tenants to pay any rent to them; that, under pretence of searching for arms, and taking away superstitious pictures, they caused the queen's chapel at Somerset-house (where she was to exercise her devotion, if they ever meant she should return again to London) to be most licentiously rifled; in which license with impunity, her lodgings were plundered, and all her furniture and goods of value

taken away and embezzled; that there was an order made in the house of commons, when they sent their messengers every day to Oxford without any formality or control, "that whatsoever person "should come from Oxford, or any part of the "king's army, to London, or the parts adjacent, "without the warrant of both houses of parliament, or of the lord general the earl of Essex, "he should be apprehended as a spy and intelligencer, and be proceeded against according to "the rules and grounds of war:" by virtue of which order of the house of commons only, and without any communication that notice might be taken of it, a servant of the king's, for discharging the duty of his place, was executed; which shall be remembered in its place; all which, except the execution of that man, was transacted during the time of the treaty at Oxford.

Whosoever remembers the other proposition upon which the treaty was founded, and the bills then presented to the king for his royal assent; that there was no unreasonable thing demanded in the nineteen propositions, which was not comprehended in these fourteen, and many additions made, that were not in the former; that they demanded the total abolition and extirpation of archbishops, bishops, deans, and chapters, and the whole frame of the government of the church; and another bill for the calling an assembly of divines, nominated by themselves, (which was a presumption, as contrary to the policy and government of the kingdom, as the most extravagant act they had done,) and consisting of persons the most deeply engaged in the most unwarrantable

acts that had been done; and yet his majesty was required to promise to pass such other bills for settling church-government, as, upon consultation with that assembly of divines, should be resolved on by both houses of parliament: that all the other bills then presented to the king for his royal assent, and insisted on by their fourth proposition, though they had specious and popular titles, contained many clauses in them contrary to common equity, and the right of the subject, and introduced proceedings very different from the known justice of the kingdom; and therefore, besides the time and circumstances of the passing those acts, (when the nation was in blood,) not like to meet with his majesty's approbation; I say, whosoever remembers and considers all this, (to say nothing of the limitations by which their committee were bound, without any power of debating, or other capacity than to deliver the resolutions of the two houses, and to receive the king's answer, which might as effectually have been done by any one single ordinary messenger,) cannot, I conceive, believe, that the king's consenting to make any one person among them high admiral of England, would have been a means to have restored the kingdom to a present peace, and the king to his just authority and rights. And if all these considerations be not sufficient to render that supposition improbable, that, which follows next in order of story, will abundantly confute it.

On Saturday the 15th of April, which was the very day on which the treaty expired at Oxford, being the last of the twenty days which were first assigned, and to which no importunity of the

king's could procure an addition, the earl of Essex marched with his whole army from Windsor, and sat down before Reading; which preparation would not have been so exactly made, and the resolution so punctually taken, if they had meant any reasonable concessions from the king should have frustrated that vast charge, and determined all farther contentions. The earl had never before been in the head of so gallant an army, which consisted of about sixteen thousand foot, and above three thousand horse, in as good an equipage, and supplied with all things necessary for a siege, as could be expected from an enemy which knew no wants, and had the command of the Tower of London, and all other stores of the kingdom. In the town were above three thousand foot, and a regiment of horse consisting of near three hundred; the fortifications were very mean to endure a formed siege, being made only to secure a winter quarter, and never intended for a standing garrison. And it is very true, that it was resolved at a council of war at Oxford, "that before the end of April," (before which time it was conceived the enemy would not adventure to take the field,) "sir Arthur "Aston should slight those works, and draw off "his garrison to the king;" and that which made it less able to bear a siege, than the weakness of their works, was their want of ammunition; for they had not forty barrels of powder; which would not have held a brisk and a daring enemy four hours. And as this defect proceeded not from want of foresight, so it was not capable of being supplied, at least in that proportion as was worthy the name of a supply. For the king had no port to friend,

by which he could bring ammunition to Oxford; neither had he been yet able to set up any manufacture for any considerable supply. So that what he brought up with him after the battle of Edgehill, which was the remainder of the four hundred barrels brought by the ship called the Providence, before the setting up of his standard, had served for all his expeditions, being distributed into the several garrisons; and was still to furnish all his growing occasions; and that magazine now at Reading (which was no greater than is before mentioned) was yet double to what was in any other place, Oxford only excepted; wherein, at this time, there was not above one hundred barrels of powder, and in no one place match proportionable to that little powder: and this defect is wholly to be imputed to the lowness and straitness of the king's condition; for there was no want of industry, but all imaginable care and pains taken to prevent and supply it.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the town looked upon the enemy with courage and contempt enough; and, to say the truth, both officers and soldiers were as good, as in the infancy of a war could be expected; and they had no apprehension of want of victual, with which they were abundantly stored. The soldiers without were, for the most part, newly levied, and few of their officers acquainted with the way and order of assaulting towns; and this was the first siege that happened in England. Upon the first sitting down before it, after they had taken a full view of the ground, their general advised with his council of war, in what manner he should proceed, whether

by assault or approach; in which there was great diversity of opinions. "The works were weak; "the number of the assailants sufficient; all ma- "terials in readiness; the soldiers in the town full "of apprehensions, and a very considerable party "of the inhabitants disaffected to the garrison; "who in the time of a storm would be able to "beget a great distraction. That they might be "able to storm it in so many places at once, that "the number of the soldiers within would not be "able to defend all; and if they prevailed in any "one, their whole body of horse might enter, and "be immediately masters of the town: if they "prevailed this way, their army would have that "reputation, and carry that terror with it, that no "power of the king's would hereafter be able to "abide it; but they might march over the king- "dom, and subdue every part of it: whereas if "they delayed their work, and proceeded by way "of approach, those in the town would recover "heart, and, after they had digested the present "fears and apprehensions, contemn their danger; "and their own soldiers, who were yet fresh and "vigorous, would every day abate in courage, and "their numbers in a few weeks lessen as much by "sickness and duty, as they should probably do "by an assault." On the other hand it was ob- jected, "that the army consisted most of new "levies," (and in truth there were not, of all that gallant army that was at Edge-hill, among the foot, three thousand men,) "who would be hardly "brought to begin upon so desperate service; that "it was the only army the parliament had, upon "which all their hopes and welfare depended; and

"if in the spring it should receive an eminent "foil, they would not recover their courage again "all the summer. That they were not only to "look upon the taking of Reading, but, pursuing "that in a reasonable way, to keep themselves in "a posture and condition to end the war by a "battle with all the king's forces; which would no "doubt apply themselves to their relief; and no "place under heaven could be so commodious for "them to try their fortune in, as that. Whereas "if they should hastily engage themselves upon "an onslatt, and receive a repulse, and should be "afterwards forced to rise to fight with the king, "they should never make their men stand; and "then their cause was lost." For the danger of sickness among the soldiers, who were not acquainted with hardness, [it was urged,] "that "though it were earlier in the year than the "armies usually marched into the field, yet they "had much better accommodation and provision "than armies use to have; their horse (to whom "that time of the year is commonly most formidable, through the want of forage) being plentifully provided for with hay and oats by the "benefit of the river, and all supplies being sent "for the foot out of London."

And in truth it is hardly credible what vast quantities (besides the provisions made in a very regular way by the commissioners) of excellent victual ready dressed were every day sent in waggons and carts from London to the army, upon the voluntary contributions from private families, according to their affections to the good work in hand; the common people being persuaded, that

the taking of Reading would destroy all the king's hopes of an army, and that it would be taken in very few days. Upon these arguments and debates, (in which all these reasons were considered on both sides,) the major part of the council inclined, and with that the general complied, to pursue the business by approach. It was reported, that the officers of horse in the council were all for a storm, and the foot officers for approaching. The chief care and oversight of the approaches was committed to Philip Skippon, a man often mentioned in the first part of this history, who had been an old officer, and of good experience in the Low Countries, and was now made sergeant-major-general of the army, by the absolute power of the two houses, and without the cheerful concurrence of the earl of Essex; though sir John Merrick, who had executed that place by his lordship's choice from the beginning, was preferred to be general of the ordnance.

The approaches advanced very fast, the ground being in all places as fit for that work as could be, and the town lying so low, that they had many batteries, from whence they shot their cannon into the town and upon their line at a near distance, but without any considerable execution; there being fewer lost by that service than will be believed, and but one man of note, lieutenant colonel D'Ews, a young man of notable courage and vivacity, who had his leg shot off by a cannon bullet, of which he speedily and very cheerfully died. From the town there were frequent sallies with good success; and very many soldiers, and some officers, of the enemy were killed; more, hurt; who were sent to hospitals

near London; and those that were sent to London, as many cart-loads were, were brought in the night, and disposed with great secrecy, that the citizens might take no notice of it: the stratagems of this kind are too ridiculous to be particularly set down, though pursued then with great industry, insomuch as some were punished for reporting that there were very many soldiers killed and hurt before Reading; and it was a mark of malignity to believe those reports; so unfit the people were to be trusted with all truths.

Within a week after the beginning of the siege, sir Arthur Aston the governor being in a court of guard near the line which was nearest to the enemy's approaches, a cannon shot accidentally lighted upon the top of it, which was covered with brick-tile, a piece whereof, the shot going through, hit the governor in the head, and made that impression upon him, that his senses shortly failed him, so that he was not only disabled afterwards from executing in his own person, but incompetent for counsel or direction; so that the chief command was devolved to colonel Richard Fielding, who was the eldest colonel of the garrison. This accident was then thought of great misfortune to the king, for there was not in his army an officer of greater reputation, and of whom the enemy had a greater dread. The next night after this accident, but before it was known at Oxford, a party from thence under the command of Mr. Wilmot, the lieutenant general of the horse, without any signal opposition, put in a supply of powder, and a regiment of five hundred foot into the town, but received advertisement from thence of the governor's hurt, and that

they must expect to be relieved within a week, beyond which time they should not be able to hold out. How ill the king was provided for such an expedition, will best appear by remembering how his forces were then scattered, and the present posture he was then in at Oxford.

The nimble and the successful marches of sir William Waller, whom we left triumphing in Wales, after his strange surprise of the lord Herbert's forces near Gloucester, caused the king to send prince Maurice with a strong party of horse and dragoons to attend him, who moved from place to place with as great success as speed, after his success at Hynam; and to make the shame of those officers the less, with the spirit of victory doubled upon him, he came before Hereford, a town very well affected, and reasonably well fortified, having a strong stone wall about it, and some cannon, and there being in it some soldiers of good reputation, and many gentlemen of honour and quality; and three or four hundred soldiers, besides the inhabitants well armed; yet, without the loss of one man on either side, to the admiration of all who then heard it, or have ever since heard of it, he persuaded them fairly to give up the town, and yield themselves prisoners upon quarter; which they did, and were presently by him sent for their better security to Bristol.

From thence he marched to Worcester, where his conquests met some stop; for though the town was not so strong, nor the garrison so great, (I mean of soldiers; for the inhabitants were more,) as Hereford, nor one officer in it of more experience than he had gotten this unhappy war, the

inhabitants had the courage to resolve not to admit any summons or messenger from him; and when his drum, against all signs made to him from the walls not to approach, did notwithstanding refuse to return without delivering his message, they shot at him, and killed him; and when sir William Waller himself, to revenge that affront, marched with his whole body towards them, (there being only an old gate, without bridge or work, before it, to hinder his entrance into the town,) they entertained him so roughly, that he was forced to retire with the loss of some officers, and about twenty common men; after which, his men having not been accustomed to such usage, he got over the Severn again, and, with quick night marches, so avoided prince Maurice, (who took no less pains to meet with him,) that with some few light skirmishes, in which he received small loss, he carried his party safe, and full of reputation, through Gloucester to the earl of Essex's army before Reading; himself being sent for to London, upon a design that must be hereafter mentioned.

The great want at Oxford (if any one particular might deserve that style, where all necessary things were wanted) was ammunition; and the only hope of supply was from the north; yet the passage from thence so dangerous, that a party little inferior in strength to an army was necessary to convey it; for though the earl of Newcastle, at that time, was master of the field in Yorkshire, yet the enemy was much superior in all the counties between that county and Oxford; and had planted many garrisons so near all the roads, that the most private messengers travelled with great hazard, three being

intercepted for one that escaped. To clear these obstructions, and not without the design of guarding and waiting on the queen to Oxford, if her majesty were ready for that journey, at least to secure a necessary supply of powder, prince Rupert resolved in person to march towards the north, and about the beginning of April (the treaty being then at Oxford, and [there being] hopes that it would have produced a good effect, at least that the earl of Essex would not have taken the field till May) his highness, with a party of twelve hundred horse and dragoons, and six or seven hundred foot, marched towards Litchfield; which if he could reduce, and settle there a garrison for the king, lay most convenient for that northern communication; and would with it dissolve other little adjacent holds of the enemy's, which contributed much to their interruption. In his way thither, he was to march through Bromicham, a town in Warwickshire before mentioned, and of as great fame for hearty, wilful, affected disloyalty to the king, as any place in England. It is before remembered, that the king in his march from Shrewsbury, notwithstanding the eminent malignity of that people, had shewed as eminent compassion to them; not giving way that they should suffer by the undistinguishing license of the soldier, or by the severity of his own justice; which clemency of his found so unequal a return, that, the next day after his remove thence, the inhabitants of that place seized on his carriages, wherein were his own plate and furniture, and conveyed them to Warwick castle; and had from that time, with unusual industry and vigilance, apprehended all messengers who were

employed, or suspected to be so, in the king's service; and though it was never made a garrison by direction of the parliament, being built in such a form, as was indeed hardly capable of being fortified, yet they had so great a desire to distinguish themselves from the king's good subjects, that they cast up little slight works at both ends of the town, and barricadoed the rest, and voluntarily engaged themselves not to admit any intercourse with the king's forces.

In this posture prince Rupert now found them, having in the town with them at that time a troop of horse, belonging to the garrison of Litchfield, which was grown to that strength, that it infested those parts exceedingly; and would in a short time have extended itself to a powerful jurisdiction. His highness hardly believing it possible, that, when they should discover his power, they would offer to make resistance, and being unwilling to receive interruption in his more important design, sent his quarter-masters thither to take up his lodging; and to assure them, "that if they behaved "themselves peaceably, they should not suffer for "what was past:" but they had not consciences good enough to believe him, and absolutely refused to let him quarter in the town; and from their little works, with mettle equal to their malice, they discharged their shot upon him; but they were quickly overpowered, and some parts of the town being fired, they were not able to contend with both enemies; and, distracted between both, suffered the assailant to enter without much loss; who took not that vengeance upon them they deserved, but made them expiate their transgressions with

paying a less mulct than might have been expected from their wealth, if their wickedness had been less.

In the entrance of this town, and in the too eager pursuit of that loose troop of horse that was in it, the earl of Denbigh (who from the beginning of the war, with unwearied pains, and exact submission to discipline and order, had been a volunteer in prince Rupert's troop, and been engaged with singular courage in all enterprises of danger) was unfortunately wounded with many hurts on the head and body with swords and poleaxes; of which, within two or three days, he died. And but for which accident, (and to remember the dismal inequality of this contention, in which always some earl, or person of great honour or fortune, fell, when, after the most signal victory over the other side, there was seldom lost a man of any known family, or of other reputation, than of passion for the cause in which he fell,) I should not have wasted so much paper in mentioning an action of so little moment, as was this of Bromicham: which I shall yet enlarge with the remembrance of a clergyman, who was here killed at the entering of the town, after he had not only refused quarter, but provoked the soldier by the most odious revilings and reproaches of the person and honour of the king, that can be imagined, and renouncing all allegiance to him; in whose pockets were found several papers of memorials of his own obscene and scurrilous behaviour with several women, in such loose expressions, as modest ears cannot endure. And this man was the principal governor and incendiary of the rude people of that place against their sovereign. So full a qualification was a

heightened measure of malice and disloyalty for this service, that it weighed down the infamy of any other lewd and vicious behaviour.

From Bromicham, the prince, without longer stay than to remove two or three slight garrisons in the way, which made very little resistance, marched to Litchfield, and easily possessed himself of the town, which lay open to all comers; but the close (which contained the cathedral church and all the clergymen's houses) was strongly fortified, and resolved against him. The wall, about which there was a broad and deep moat, was so thick and strong, that no battery the prince could raise would make any impression; the governor, one colonel Rouswell, very resolute; and the garrison of such men as were most transported with superstition to the cause in which they were engaged, and in numbers equal to the ground they were to keep, [and] their provisions ample for a longer time than it was fit the prince should stay before it. So that it was believed, when his highness had in vain endeavoured to procure it by treaty, he would not have engaged before it; for his strength consisted, upon the matter, wholly in horse; his foot and dragoons being an inconsiderable force for such an attempt. But whether the difficulties were not throughly discerned and weighed at first, or whether the importance of the place was thought so great, that it was worth an equal hazard and adventure, he resolved not to move till he had tried the uttermost; and, to that purpose, drew what addition of force he could out of the country, to strengthen his handful of foot; and

persuaded many officers and volunteers of the horse to alight, and bear their parts in the duty; with which they cheerfully and gallantly complied; and in less than ten days he had drawn the moat dry, and prepared two bridges for the graff. The besieged omitted nothing that could be performed by vigilant and bold men; and killed and wounded many of the besiegers; and disappointed and spoiled one mine they had prepared. In the end, early in the morning, the prince having prepared all things in readiness for the assault, he sprung another mine; which succeeded according to wish, and made a breach of twenty foot in the wall, in a place least suspected by those within; yet they defended it with all possible courage and resolution, and killed and hurt very many; some, officers of prime quality; whereof the lord Digby, colonel Gerrard, colonel Wagstaffe, and major Leg, were the chief of the wounded; and when they had entered the breach, they continued the dispute so fiercely within, (the narrowness of the breach, and the ascent, not suffering many to enter together, and no horse being able to get over,) that after they had killed colonel Usher, and some other good officers, and taken others prisoners, (for both colonel Wagstaffe and William Leg were in their hands,) they compelled the prince to consent to very honourable conditions; which he readily yielded to, as thinking himself a gainer by the bargain. And so the garrison marched out with fair respect, and a princely testimony of having made a courageous defence; his highness being very glad of his conquest, though the purchase

had shrewdly shaken his troops, and robbed him of many officers and soldiers he much valued. At this time, either the day before or the day after this action, prince Rupert received a positive order from the king, "to make all possible haste, with "all the strength he had, and all he could draw "together from those parts, to the relief of Read-"ing;" which was in the danger we but now left it. Upon which his highness, committing the government of Litchfield to colonel Baggot, a son of a good and powerful family in that county, and appointing his troops to make what haste was possible after him, himself with a few servants came to Oxford to attend the king, whom he found gone towards Reading.

The importunity from that garrison for relief was so peremptory, and the concernment so great in their preservation, that the king found it would not bear the necessary delay of prince Rupert's returning with his forces; and therefore his majesty in person, with those horse and foot which he could speedily draw together, leaving very few behind him in Oxford, or in any other garrison, advanced towards Reading; hoping, and that was the utmost of his hope, that he might, with the assistance of the garrison, be able to force one quarter, and so draw out his men; and by the advantage of those rivers which divided the enemy, and by the passes, be able to retire to Oxford; for being joined, he could not have equalled one half of the enemy's army. When he drew near the town, the day being passed whereon they had been promised, or had promised themselves, relief, he was encountered by a party of the enemy, which

defended their post, and being quickly seconded by supplies of horse and foot from all their quarters, after a very sharp conflict, in which many fell on both sides, the king's party, commanded by the earl of Forth himself, (the general,) consisting of near one thousand musketeers, was forced to retire to their body; which they did the sooner, because those of the town made no semblance of endeavouring to join with them; which was what they principally relied upon. The reason of that was, the garrison, not seeing their relief coming, sent for a parley to the enemy, which was agreed to, with a truce for so many hours, upon which hostages were delivered; and a treaty begun, when the king came to relieve it. Upon the view of the enemy's strength and intrenchment, all were of opinion that the small forces of the king would not be able to raise the siege, or to join with those in the town; and in this melancholic conclusion his majesty retired for the present, resolving to make any other reasonable attempt the next day. In the mean time, some soldiers found means to escape out of the town, and colonel Fielding himself in the night came to the king, and told him the state they were in; and "that they were in treaty, and "he believed might have very good conditions, "and liberty to march away with all their arms "and baggage;" which was so welcome news, that the king bid him, prince Rupert being then present, "that, if he could procure such conditions, "he should accept them:" for indeed the men and the arms were all that the king desired, and the loss of either of which was like to prove fatal to him. The king continued still at Nettlebedd, a

village seven or eight miles distant from Reading, to attend the success of the treaty; resolving, if it succeeded not, to try the utmost again for their redemption: but all men praying heartily for liberty to march off upon the treaty, the next day these articles were agreed on.

1. "That the governor, commanders, and sol-
"diers, both horse and foot, might march out with
"flying colours, arms, and four pieces of ord-
"nance, ammunition, bag and baggage, light
"match, bullet in mouth, drums beating, and
"trumpets sounding.

2. "That they might have free passage to his
"majesty's city of Oxford, without interruption of
"any of the forces under the command of his ex-
"cellency the earl of Essex; provided the said
"governor, commanders, and soldiers, use no hos-
"tility until they come to Oxford.

3. "That what persons were accidentally come to
"the town, and shut up by the siege, might have
"liberty to pass without interruption; such persons
"only excepted, as had run away from the army
"under the command of the earl of Essex.

4. "That they should have fifty carriages for
"baggage, sick, and hurt men.

5. "That the inhabitants of the town of Read-
"ing should not be prejudiced in their estates, or
"persons, either by plundering or imprisonment;
"and that they who would leave the town, might
"have free leave, and passage, safely to go to
"what place they would, with their goods, within
"the space of six weeks after the surrender of the
"town.

6. "That the garrison should quit the town by

" twelve of the clock the next morning; and that " the earl of Essex should provide a guard for the " security of the garrison soldiers, when they began " to march."

Upon these articles, signed by the earl of Essex, the town was delivered on the 27th day of April, (being within a fortnight after the siege began,) and the garrison marched to the king, who stayed for them, and with him to Oxford. But at their coming out of the town, and passing through the enemy's guards, the soldiers were not only reviled, and reproachfully used, 'but many of them disarmed, and most of the waggons plundered, in the presence of the earl of Essex himself, and the chief officers; who seemed to be offended at it, and not to be able to prevent it; the unruliness of the common men being so great. And as this breach of the articles was very notorious and inexcusable, so it was made the rise, foundation, and excuse for barbarous injustice of the same kind throughout the greatest part of the war; insomuch as the king's soldiers afterward, when it was their part to be precise in the observation of agreements, mutinously remembered the violation at Reading, and thereupon exercised the same license; from thence, either side having somewhat to object to the other, the requisite honesty and justice of observing conditions was mutually, as it were by agreement, for a long time after violated.

There had been, in the secret committee for the carrying on the war, forming those designs, and administering to the expenses thereof, a long debate with great difference of opinion, whether they should not march directly with their army to be-

siege Oxford, where the king and the court was, rather than Reading; and if they had taken that resolution, as Mr. Hambden, and all they who desired still to strike at the root, very earnestly insisted upon, without doubt they had put the king's affairs into great confusion. For, besides that the town was not tolerably fortified, nor the garrison well provided for, the court, and multitude of nobility, and ladies, and gentry, with which it was inhabited, bore any kind of alarum very ill. But others, who did not yet think their army well enough composed to resist all temptations, nor enough subdued in their inclinations to loyalty, and reverence towards the person of the king, had no mind it should besiege the very place where the king himself was; and the earl of Essex himself, who was yet the soul of the army, had no mind to that enterprise: and so the army marched, as hath been said, directly to Reading, with the success that is mentioned.

Though, at the instant, the parliament was highly pleased with the getting the town, and the king as well contented, when he saw his entire garrison safely joined to the rest of his army, (for it cannot be denied the joy was universal through the king's quarters, upon the assurance, that they had recovered full four thousand good men, whom they had given for lost,) yet, according to the vicissitudes in war, when the accounts are cast up, either party grew quickly dissatisfied with its success. The king was no sooner returned to Oxford, but, upon conference between the officers and soldiers, there grew a whisper, "that there had not been "fair carriage, and that Reading had been be-

" trayed," and from thence made a noise through Oxford; and the very next day, and at the same time, colonel Fielding, upon whom the discourses reflected, came to the king to desire, " that an " account might be taken of the whole business at " a council of war for his vindication;" and the common soldiers, in a disorderly manner, " to re- " quire justice against him for betraying and de- " livering up the town to the rebels;" which they avowed with so much confidence, with the mention of some particulars, " as having frequent inter- " course with the earl of Essex, and hindering " and forbidding the soldiers to issue out of the " town to join with the king, when he came to " relieve them, albeit their officers had drawn " them up to that purpose, and were ready to lead " them;" and the like; with some rash and passionate words disrespectful to his majesty; so that he gave present order for his commitment, and trial at a court of war; the king himself being marvellously incensed against him, for that clause in the third article, which gave liberty to all who were accidentally come to the town, and shut up by the siege, to pass without interruption, wherein there was an exception of such persons who had run away from the earl of Essex's army, and by virtue of that exception some soldiers of that kind were taken after the rendering of the town, and were executed. And though the colonel excused himself, " as being no more concerned to answer " for the articles, than every member of the coun- " cil of war, by which they were agreed;" yet it was alleged, " that the council of war had been in- " duced to consent to those articles, upon the

" colonel's averment, that the king had seen them, " and approved of them." Whereas his majesty had never seen any articles in writing, but only consented, that they should march away with their arms and baggage, if the enemy agreed to those conditions. I have not known the king more afflicted than he was with that clause, which he called no less " than giving up those poor men, " who, out of conscience of their rebellion, had " betaken themselves to his protection, to be mas- " sacred and murdered by the rebels, whom they " had deserted;" and, for the vindication of himself therein, he immediately published a proclamation, in which he took notice of that clause; and declared to all the world,

" That he was not privy to, or, in the least " degree, consenting to that exception, but held the " same most prejudicial to his service, and deroga- " tory [to] his honour; and that he would always " choose to run any hazard or danger, the violence " or treason of his enemies could threaten, or bring " upon him, rather than he would withdraw or " deny his protection to any, who, being convinced " in their conscience of their disloyalty, should " return to their duty, and betake themselves to his " service. And as he had referred to a court of " war the full examination of all the particular " proceedings, in the delivery of that town, that so " justice might be done accordingly; so he did " declare, that he would always proceed with all " severity against such, as should, by the like dis- " honourable conditions, expose his subjects, and " bereave them of his protection that had returned " to their obedience to him."

At the trial, it was objected against the colonel, "that the town might have been longer defended, "there being want of no necessary provision, and "as much powder, at the giving it up, as there "was when the enemy came first before it; for, "besides the first supply, sixteen barrels were put "in during the skirmish, when the king came to "relieve it: that several colonels pressed very "earnestly to sally, when the king's forces were "engaged, and that they were expressly hindered "and forbidden by him: that he frequently gave "his pass to a woman to go out of the town, who "went into the earl of Essex's army, and returned "again: that he persuaded the council of war to "consent to the articles, by protesting that the king "had well approved them, and reproached those "officers who were of another opinion;" with some other particulars of license and passion, which reflected more upon his discretion, than his honesty, or conduct.

He justified himself "to have done nothing to-"wards the delivery of the place, but upon full "consideration, advice, and approbation of the "council of war: that he was in his own con-"science and judgment satisfied, that the substance "of the articles were advantageous for his ma-"jesty's service; and though it was true, by that "last supply of ammunition, their store was near "as much as when the siege begun; yet it was in "all but thirty-two barrels, which would have "lasted but few hours, if the enemy, who had ap-"proached within little more than pistol-shot of "some parts of their works, should attack them in "that manner as they had reason to expect; and

" if they had held out longer, when it had appeared " that the king was not strong enough to relieve " them, they should not have been admitted to " such conditions: and therefore, that he believed " a hazard of so great a concernment was not to " be run, when he well knew his majesty's former " resolution of slighting the garrison; and that it " would not be now done above a fortnight sooner " than was intended: that he had no knowledge " of his majesty's approach, till the forces were " engaged, when a truce was concluded, and their " hostages in the enemy's hands; and therefore, " that he conceived it against the law of arms to " make any attempt from the town; and before " they could sufficiently deliberate it in council, his " majesty's forces retired: that the woman, to " whom he gave a pass, was one he often " employed as a spy, with very good effect; and " he did believe, the advantage he received by it " was greater than she could carry to the enemy " by any information she could give: that he did " persuade the council of war to consent to the " conditions, because he believed them very profit- " able to his majesty, and he had averred only " his majesty's approbation of the general sub- " stance of the articles, never applied it to the " clause of the third article, which he much desired " to have altered, but could not obtain the consent " of the enemy. If he had been intemperate, or " passionate to any, who were of another opinion, " or had used any passionate expressions in the " debate, it proceeded only from his zeal to the " service, and his apprehension of the loss of so " many good men, upon whom he well knew the

" king much depended: that he might have com-
" mitted many indiscretions, for which he desired
" pardon, but had not failed in point of fidelity:
" that, by the unfortunate hurt of the governor,
" the command was devolved upon him by his
" right of seniority, not any ambitious design of
" his own: that he had, from time to time,
" acquainted sir Arthur Aston with the state and
" condition they were in; and though his indis-
" position of health was such, that he would not
" give positive orders, he seemed to approve of all
" that was done; and though, for the former
" reason, he refused to sign the articles, yet they
" were read to him, and he expressed no dislike
" of them." The truth of it is, sir Arthur Aston was believed by many, not to be in so incompetent a condition to command as he pretended; and that albeit his head was so much swoln, that he might not in person venture upon any execution, yet that his understanding, or senses, were not much distempered, or discomposed; and that he only positively waved meddling, out of dislike of the condition they were in. And it is true, that, when he came to Oxford, he could speak as reasonably of any matter, as ever I knew him before, or after.

Notwithstanding all the defence the colonel could make for himself, and that there was not indeed any colour of proof, that he had acted any thing treacherously, he was, upon an article " of not obeying
" orders," (for in this agitation he had received some such, which he had not precisely observed,)
" sentenced to lose his head;" which judgment, after long and great intercession, was, in the end, re-

mitted by the king; but his regiment disposed to another; and he never restored to that command. And though he had been always before of an unblemished reputation for honesty and courage, and had heartily been engaged from the beginning of the troubles, and been hurt in the service, and he appeared afterwards as a volunteer, with the same courage, in the most perilous actions, and obtained a principal command in another of the king's armies, he never recovered the misfortune and blemish of this imputation. And yet I must profess for my part, being no stranger to what was then alleged and proved on either party, I do believe him to have been free from any base compliance with the enemy, or any cowardly declension of what was reasonably to be attempted. So fatal are all misfortunes, and so difficult a thing it is to play an after-game of reputation, in that nice and jealous profession.

The inconveniences and mischiefs, that resulted to the king from this accident, were greater than were at that time taken notice of; for from this, the factions in court, army, and city (which afterwards grew very troublesome to the king) were dated, and took their original; great animosities grew between the officers of the army; some being thought to have been too passionate and solicitous in the prosecution of the colonel, and too much to have countenanced the rage and fury of common soldiers in demanding [justice on] their officer; for from such a kind of clamour it began. Others again were as much condemned for a palpable avowed protection of him, thereby to shew their power, that a person they favoured should not

suffer; and of both these, some were more violent than they should have been; which several inclinations equally possessed the court, some believing that he was really guilty of treachery, though not so clearly proved; and therefore that, being within the mercy of the law, upon another article, no mercy ought to be shewed to him; others as really supposing him innocent, and therefore thinking it great pity, severely to take the forfeiture, upon such a point, as few officers of the army did not know themselves guilty in: these supposing the former too full of rigour and uncharitableness; and they again accusing the other of too much lenity and indulgence; whilst many gentlemen of honour and quality, whose fortunes were embarked with the king, grew extremely jealous, that the parliament had corrupted some of the king's officers with rewards, and that others had power to protect them from punishment and discovery; and the soldiers again as much incensed, that their lives must be sacrificed, upon casual and accidental trespasses, to the animosity and jealousy of those who run not the same dangers with them.

But these indispositions and distempers were the effects of the exigents of that time, (I wish the humours had been impaired when the times mended,) and very many, who saw the king's condition very low in an instant, and believed the rebels to be most flourishing, would look no farther for a reason, than the loss of Reading; though they had all still, but the town; which was never intended to be kept. It is most certain, that the king himself was so far from believing the condition he was in to be tolerable, that, upon the news of the earl

of Essex's advance towards Oxford, within four or five days after the loss of Reading, he once resolved, and that by the advice of the chief officers of his army, to march away towards the north, to join with the earl of Newcastle. And if the earl of Essex had, at that time, but made any show of moving with his whole body that way, I do verily persuade myself, Oxford itself, and all the other garrisons of those parts, had been quitted to them; but those fears were quickly composed, by an assurance of the earl's stay at Reading; and that he was not in a posture for a present march, and that his numbers had been shrewdly lessened by the siege: whereupon the king resolved to abide him, and give him battle about Oxford, if he advanced; and, in the mean time, encamped his foot upon the down, about a mile, from Abingdon; which was the head quarter for his horse.

When the season of the year grew ripe for taking the field, the earl of Essex found that his too early march had nothing advanced his affairs; the soldiers having performed so strict duty, and lodging upon the ground, in frost and rain, before Reading, had produced great sickness and diseases in his army, which had wasted abundance of his men; so that he wanted rather another winter quarter to recover and recruit his men, than an opportunity to engage them in action; which he found would be too often administered. He sent daily importunities to the parliament for supplies of all kinds, which they were not enough furnished with to satisfy him; new divisions and animosities arose there, to perplex their counsels. Their triumph upon the taking of Reading, which they

had celebrated with loud festivity, and made the city believe, that all those benefits would attend it, which they knew would be most grateful to them, appeared now without any fruit; the king had all his forces and army entire, and had only lost a town that he never meant to keep, and which they knew not what to do with; and was now ready to come into the field, when theirs was destitute of health, and all those accommodations, which must enable them to march: and their general every day reiterated his complaints, and reproached them with the unskilful orders they had sent him, by which, against all the advice and arguments he had given them, he was reduced to that extremity.

The absurd and uncivil breaking off of the treaty with the king was urged by their commissioners; who thought themselves disobliged by it, and published the king's gracious disposition, and the temper of the council in Oxford, to be different from what the parliament desired it should be believed. They complained of jealousies which had been entertained of their integrity; and the earl of Northumberland, having discovered that Harry Martin had opened a letter, which he had writ from Oxford to his wife, to know what was included in it, took him aside, after a conference in the painted chamber between the two houses, and questioned him upon it; and the other giving him some rude answers in justification of it, the earl cudgelled him in that presence; upon which many swords were drawn, to the great reproach and scandal of the parliament.

These and the like instances of distraction and confusion brought the reputation of that party low;

and made it looked upon, as like to destroy itself without an enemy; whilst the king's party, at that distance, seemed to be more united, and to have recovered their spirits, of which they received frequent evidence by the news of some of their quarters being beat up, and many of their men being lost by the unexpected incursions of the king's horse; whereof some parties, by night marches, and unusual lanes, went often near London, and took many prisoners, who thought themselves secure, in their houses, and in journeys they made; and who were put to ransom themselves with good sums of money: so that, after all those mountains of promises, and undertakings, the wants were greater, and the city more importuned for money, and the parliament visibly more necessitated for want of it, than they had been before; and instead of dispersing the king's army, and bringing the king back to his parliament, a sudden direction was given, and a vigorous execution of that direction was begun, to draw a line about the city of London and Westminster, and to fortify it; lest the king's forces might break in upon them; which made the people suspect the state of their affairs to be worse than in truth it was; and so far were they from any thoughts of peace and accommodation, that the house of commons raged more furiously than ever; and every day engaged themselves in conclusions more monstrous than they had yet entered upon. For the supply of the charge of the war, they proposed settling and imposing an excise upon such commodities as might best bear it; which was a burden the people of England had hitherto reproached other nations

with, as a mark of slavery, and as never feared by themselves; and for the exercise of the sovereign power, they resolved it fit to make a new great seal, to be always resident with the houses. But the lords were not yet arrived at that presumption, but plainly refused to concur with them in either.

Whilst both armies lay quiet, the one about Reading, the other about Abingdon, or Oxford, without attempting one upon the other, or any action, save some small enterprises by parties, (in which the king got advantage; as the young earl of Northampton fortunately encountered a party of horse and foot from Northampton, which thought themselves strong enough to attempt upon Banbury: and having routed their horse, killed above two hundred of their foot, and took as many more prisoners, most whereof were shrewdly hurt, the young earl that day sacrificing to the memory of his father,) the king received from the earl of Newcastle, bya strong party of horse, a good and ample supply of ammunition; the want whereof all men looked upon with great horror. As soon as this was arrived, and the king heard that his armies, both in the north and west, began to flourish, and thought himself well provided to encounter the earl of Essex, if he desired it; his majesty resolved once more to try, whether the two houses would incline to a reasonable peace; and to that purpose sent a message to them by an express servant of his own, in these words:

"Since his majesty's message of the 12th of "April (in which he conceived he had made such "an overture for the immediate disbanding of all "armies, and composure of those miserable and

" present distractions, by a full and free convention " of parliament, that a perfect and settled peace " would have ensued) hath in all this time, above a " full month, procured no answer from both houses, " his majesty might well believe himself absolved, " both before God and man, from the least possible " charge of not having used his utmost endeavours " for peace: yet, when he considers, that the scene " of all this calamity is in the bowels of his own " kingdom; that all the blood, which is spilt, is of " his own subjects; and that what victory soever " it shall please God to give him, must be over " those who ought not to have lifted up their " hands against him; when he considers, that " these desperate civil dissensions may encourage " and invite a foreign enemy, to make a prey of the " whole nation; that Ireland is in present danger " to be totally lost; that the heavy judgments of " God, plague, pestilence, and famine, will be the " inevitable attendants of this unnatural contention; " and that in a short time there will be so general " a habit of uncharitableness and cruelty contracted " through the whole kingdom, that even peace it- " self will not restore his people to their old temper " and security; his majesty cannot but again call " for an answer to that his gracious message, which " gives so fair a rise to end these unnatural dis- " tractions. And his majesty doth this with the " more earnestness, because he doubts not the con- " dition of his armies in several parts; the strength " of horse, foot, artillery, his plenty of ammunition, " (when some men lately might conceive he want- " ed,) is so well known and understood, that it " must be confessed, nothing but the tenderness

" and love to his people, and those Christian im-
" pressions, which always live, and he hopes alway
" shall dwell, in his heart, could move him once
" more to hazard a refusal. And he requires them,
" as they will answer to God, to himself, and all the
" world, that they will no longer suffer their fellow-
" subjects to welter in each other's blood; that
" they would remember by whose authority, and
" to what end, they met in that council, and send
" such an answer to his majesty, as may open a
" door to let in a firm peace, and security to the
" whole kingdom. If his majesty shall again be
" disappointed of his intentions therein, the blood,
" rapine and destruction, which may follow in Eng-
" land and Ireland, will be cast upon the account
" of those who are deaf to the motive of peace and
" accommodation."

This message was received by the house of peers (to whom it was directed) with all demonstration of respect and duty, and the messenger very civilly entreated by them: but when they communicated it [to] the house of commons, and desired their concurrence in preparing an address to the king suitable to his gracious invitation, that house was so far from concurring with them, that they gave immediate order (which was executed accordingly) for the apprehension and commitment of the gentleman who brought the message; and declared, " that they would proceed against him at a council " of war," upon the order formerly mentioned, made by them when the treaty was at Oxford, " that any person coming from Oxford without " their general's pass, or one from the houses, " should be punished as a spy;" to which order

as the peers never consented, so the king had never, till this commitment, notice of it; and themselves, after the making it, had sent several messengers to the king, without any formality of pass or trumpet.

The lords did what they could, publicly and privately, to dissuade this course; but they could not prevail: the house of commons finding that the very imagination that a peace might be concluded, infinitely retarded their carrying on the war, and made not only those, who were yet free, not easy to be drawn in; but many, who were engaged, remiss, and willing to retire; and therefore they resolved to proceed with that vigour and resolution, that no reasonable man should believe it possible for the king to gain a peace but by subduing them, which seemed at least equally impossible. To this purpose, instead of returning any answer to the king's message, within three days after the receiving it they impeached the queen of high treason, "for assisting the king her husband with arms, "and ammunition, in the prosecution of the war "against them;" an attempt as unheard of among all the acts of their predecessors, and as unimagined as any thing they had yet ventured upon: their clergy sounded their trumpets louder to war than ever, if it was possible; and they resolved, that assembly of divines, to which they had at the treaty urged the king's consent, should now meet by an ordinance of their own, with an addition of some members of either house to that number.

There had been, some months before, a design of prince Rupert upon the city of Bristol, by correspondence with some of the chief inhabitants of the city, who were weary of the tyranny of the

parliament; but it had been so unskilfully or unhappily carried, that, when the prince was near the town, with such a party of horse and foot, as he made choice of, it was discovered, and many principal citizens apprehended by Nathaniel Fiennes, son to the lord Say, and then governor of that city for the parliament; at this time, special direction and order was sent thither, "that he should, with "all severity, and expedition, proceed against "those conspirators," (as they called them;) and thereupon, by a sentence and judgment of a council of war, alderman Yeomans, who had been high sheriff of the city, and of great reputation in it, and George Bouchier, another citizen of principal account, were (against all interposition his majesty could make) both hanged; and all other imaginary acts done, to let all the world see that there was no way to peace but by the sword.

There fell out now an accident at London, which gave great advantage to them in the fierce prosecution of the war, a discovery of a plot, which produced a public thanksgiving to God for their deliverance, a wonderful animosity against the king, and a covenant, and union among themselves, and throughout the city a prejudice to all moderate men, who promoted an accommodation, and a brand upon all overtures of accommodation and peace as stratagems upon the city and the parliament. Of this plot, there being never such a formed relation made by those who made great use of it, that men can collect what the design was, or that it was laid with any probable circumstances, by which a success might be expected, I shall briefly and faithfully set down all that I know,

have heard, or can reasonably conjecture to be in it; and it was thought by many, and averred by others who I believe did not think so, "that I "knew as much of it as most men."

There was of the house of commons, one Mr. Waller, a gentleman of a very good fortune and estate, and of admirable parts, and faculties of wit and eloquence, and of an intimate conversation and familiarity with those who had that reputation. He had, from the beginning of the parliament, been looked upon by all men, as a person of very entire affections to the king's service, and to the established government of church and state; and, by having no manner of relation to the court, had the more credit and interest to promote the rights of it. When the ruptures grew so great between the king and the two houses, that very many of the members withdrew from those councils, he, among the rest, with equal dislike absented himself; but at the time the standard was set up, having intimacy and friendship with some persons now of nearness about the king, with the king's approbation, he returned again to London; where he spake, upon all occasions, with great sharpness and freedom; which (now there were so few there that used it, and there was no danger of being overvoted) was not restrained; and therefore used as an argument against those, who were gone upon pretence "that they were not suffered to declare "their opinion freely in the house; which could "not be believed, when all men knew, what liberty "Mr. Waller took, and spake every day with im-"punity, against the sense and proceedings of the "house." This won him a great reputation with

all people who wished well to the king; and he was looked upon as the boldest champion the crown had in both houses; so that such lords, and commons, who really desired to prevent the ruin of the kingdom, willingly complied in a great familiarity with him, as a man resolute in their ends, and best able to promote them. And it may be they believed his reputation at court so good, that he would be no ill evidence there, of other men's zeal and affection; and so all men spake their minds freely to him, both of the general distemper, and of the passions and ambition of particular persons: all men knowing him to be of too good a fortune, and too wary a nature, to engage himself in designs of danger or hazard.

Mr. Waller had a brother-in-law, one Mr. Tomkins, who had married his sister, and was clerk of the queen's council, of very good fame for honesty and ability. This gentleman had good interest and reputation in the city, and conversed much with those who disliked the proceedings of the parliament, and wished to live under the same government they were born; and from those citizens received information of the temper of the people, upon accidents, in the public affairs. And Mr. Waller and he, with that confidence that uses to be between brethren of the same good affections, frequently imparted their observations and opinions to each other; the one relating, how many in both houses inclined to peace; and the other making the same judgment upon the correspondence he had, and intelligence he received from the most substantial men of London; and both of them again communicated what one received from the

other, to the company [they] used to converse with; Mr. Waller imparting the wishes and power of the well affected party in the city, to the lords and gentlemen whom he knew to be of the same mind; and Mr. Tomkins acquainting those he durst trust of the city, that such and such lords and gentlemen, who were of special note, were weary of the distractions, and would heartily and confidently contribute to such an honourable and honest peace, as all men knew would be most acceptable to the king. And from hence they came reasonably to a conclusion, that if some means were found out to raise a confidence in those who wished well, that they should not be oppressed by the extravagant power of the desperate party; but that [if] they would so far assist one another, as to declare their opinions to be the same, they should be able to prevent or suppress those tumults, which seemed to countenance the distractions; and the houses would be induced to terms of moderation.

In this time the lord Conway, being returned from Ireland, incensed against the Scots, and discontented with the parliament here, finding Mr. Waller in good esteem with the earl of Northumberland, and of great friendship with the earl of Portland, he entered into the same familiarity; and, being more of a soldier, in the discourses administered questions, and considerations, necessary to be understood by men that either meant to use force, or to resist it; and wished "that they who "had interest and acquaintance in the city would "endeavour by a mutual correspondence to inform "themselves of the distinct affections of their

" neighbours, that, upon any exigent, men might " foresee whom they might trust;" and these discourses being again derived by Mr. Waller to Mr. Tomkins, he, upon occasion, and conference with his companions, insisted on the same arguments; and they again conversing with their friends and acquaintance, (for of all this business, there were not above three who ever spoke together,) agreed, " that some well affected persons, in every parish " and ward about London, should make a list of " all the inhabitants; and thereupon to make a " reasonable guess of their several affections," (which at that time was no hard thing for observing men to do,) and thence a computation of the strength and power of that party, which was notoriously violent against any accommodation.

I am persuaded the utmost project in this design was (I speak not what particular men might intend, or wish upon their own fancies) to beget such a combination among the party well affected, that they would refuse to conform to those ordinances of the twentieth part, and other taxes for the support of the war; and thereby, or by joint petitioning for peace, and discountenancing the other who petitioned against it, to prevail with the parliament to incline to a determination of the war. And it may be, some men might think of making advantage of any casual commotion, or preventing any mischief by it; and thereupon that inquiry where the magazines lay, and discourse of wearing some distinguishing tokens, had been rather mentioned, than proposed. For it is certain, very many who were conscious to themselves of loyal purposes to the king, and of hearty dislike of the parliament's

proceedings, and observed the violent, revengeful, and ruinating prosecution of all men, by those of the engaged party, were not without sad apprehensions that, upon some jealousy, and quarrel picked, even a general massacre might be attempted of all the king's friends; and thereupon, in several discourses, might touch upon such expedients, as might in those seasons be most beneficial to their safety. But that there was ever any formed design, either of letting in the king's army into London, which was most impossible to be contrived, or of raising an army there, and surprising the parliament, or any one person of it, or of using any violence in or upon the city, I could never yet see cause to believe; and if there had, they would have published such a relation of it, after Mr. Waller had confessed to them all he knew, had heard, or fancied to himself, as might have constituted some reasonable understanding of it; and not [have] contented themselves with making conclusions from questions that had been asked, and answers made, by persons unknown, and forcing expressions used by one, to relate to actions of another, between whom there had been never the least acquaintance or correspondence; and joining what was said at London to somewhat done at Oxford, at another time, and to another purpose: for, before I finish this discourse, it will be necessary to speak of another action, which, how distinct soever from this that is related, was woven together to make one plot.

From the king's coming to Oxford, many citizens of good quality, who were prosecuted, or jealously looked upon in London, had resorted to the king,

and hoping, if the winter produced not a peace, that the summer would carry the king before that city with an army, they had entertained some discourse "of raising, upon their own stocks of money "and credit, some regiments of foot and horse, "and joining with some gentlemen of Kent, who "were likewise inclined to such an undertaking." Among these was sir Nicholas Crisp, a citizen of good wealth, great trade, and an active spirited man, who had been lately prosecuted with great severity by the house of commons; and had thereupon fled from London, for appearing too great a stickler in a petition for peace in the city. This gentleman industriously preserved a correspondence still there, by which he gave the king often very useful intelligence, and assured him "of a "very considerable party, which would appear "there for him, whenever his own power should "be so near, as to give them any countenance." In the end, whether invited by his correspondents there, or trusting his own sprightly inclinations and resolutions too much, and concluding that all, who were equally honest, would be equally bold, he desired his majesty, "to grant a commission to "such persons, whom he would nominate, of the "city of London, under the great seal of England, "in the nature of a commission of array, by virtue "whereof, when the season should come, his party "there would appear in discipline and order; and "that this was desired by those, who best knew "what countenance and authority was requisite; "and being trusted to them would not be executed "at all, or else at such a time as his majesty should "receive ample fruit by it; provided it were done

" with secrecy, equal to the hazard they should run " who were employed in it."

The king had no exception to it but " the im- " probability that it could do good, and that was " the less because the failing could do no hurt but " to the undertakers." The promoter was a very popular man in the city, where he had been a commander of the trained bands, till the ordinance of the militia removed him; which rather improved, than lessened, his credit; and he was very confident, it would produce a notable advantage to the king: however, they desired it who were there, and would not appear without it; and therefore the king consented to it; referring the nomination of all persons to be named in the commission to him; who, he verily believed, had proceeded by the instruction and advice of those who were nearest the concernment; and for the secrecy of it, the king referred the preparing and despatch of the commission to sir Nicholas Crisp himself, who should acquaint no more with it than he found requisite; so, without the privity or advice of any counsellor, or minister of state, he procured such a commission as he desired (being no other than the commission of array in English) to be signed by the king, and sealed with the great seal.

This being done, and remaining still in his custody, the lady Aubigney, by a pass, and with the consent of the houses, came to Oxford to transact the affairs of her own fortune with the king upon the death of her husband, who was killed at Edgehill; and she having in few days despatched her business there, and being ready to return, sir Nicholas Crisp came to the king, and besought

him, "to desire that lady" (who had a pass, and so could promise herself safety in her journey) "to carry a small box" (in which that commission should be) "with her, and to keep it in her own "custody, until a gentleman should call to her "ladyship for it, by such a token: that token," he said, "he could send to one of the persons "trusted, who should keep it by him till the oppor- "tunity came, in which it might be executed." The king accordingly wished the lady Aubigney to carry it with great care and secrecy; telling her, "it much concerned his majesty's service;" and to deliver it in such manner, and upon such assurance, as is before mentioned: which she did, and, within few days after her return to London, delivered it to a person who was appointed to call for it. How this commission was discovered, I could never learn: for though Mr. Waller had the honour to be admitted often to that lady, and was believed by her to be a gentleman of most entire affections to the king's service, and consequently might be fitly trusted with what she knew, yet her ladyship herself, not knowing what it was she carried, could not inform any body else.

But about this time, a servant of Mr. Tomkins, who had often cursorily overheard his master and Mr. Waller discourse of the argument we are now upon, placed himself behind a hanging, at a time they were together; and there, whilst either of them discoursed the language and opinion of the company they kept, overheard enough to make him believe his information, and discovery, would make him welcome to those whom he thought concerned; and so went to Mr. Pym, and acquainted

him with all he had heard, or probably imagined. The time when Mr. Pym was made acquainted with it is not known; but the circumstances of the publishing it were such, as filled all men with apprehensions. It was on Wednesday the thirty-first of May, their solemn fast-day, when, being all at their sermon, in St. Margaret's church in Westminster, according to their custom, a letter or message is brought privately to Mr. Pym; who thereupon, with some of the most active members, rise from their seats; and, after a little whispering together, remove out of the church: this could not but exceedingly affect those who stayed behind; immediately they sent guards to all the prisons, as Lambeth-house, Ely-house, and such places, where their malignants were in custody, with directions "to search the prisoners;" and some other places which they thought fit should be suspected. After the sermons were ended, the houses met; and were only told, "that letters were intercepted "going to the king and the court at Oxford, that "expressed some notable conspiracy in hand, to "deliver up the parliament and the city into the "hands of the cavaliers; and that the time for the "execution of it drew very near." Hereupon a committee was appointed "to examine all persons "they thought fit; and to apprehend some nomi-"nated at that time." And the same night, this committee apprehended Mr. Waller and Mr. Tomkins; and, the next day, such others as they thought fit.

Mr. Waller was so confounded with fear and apprehension, that he confessed whatever he had said, heard, thought, or seen; all that he knew of

himself, and all that he suspected of others; without concealing any person of what degree or quality soever, or any discourse that he had ever, upon any occasion, entertained with them: what such and such ladies of great honour, to whom, upon the credit of his great parts, and very good reputation, he had been admitted, had spoke to him in their chambers of the proceedings of the houses; and how they had encouraged him to oppose them; what correspondence and intercourse they had with some ministers of state at Oxford; and how they derived all intelligence thither. He informed them, "that the earl of Portland and the lord Conway "had been particular in all the agitations which "had been with the citizens; and had given fre- "quent advice and directions how they should "demean themselves; and that the earl of North- "umberland had expressed very good wishes to "any attempt, that might give a stop to the vio- "lent actions and proceedings of the houses, and "produce a good understanding with the king."

When the committee were thus furnished, they took the examinations of Mr. Tomkins, and such other as they thought necessary, and having at the same time, by some other means, discovered (or concealed it till this time) that commission which is before discoursed of, and gotten the very original into their hands, they kneaded both into one plot and conspiracy; and, acquainting the houses with so much as they thought yet seasonable to publish, they declared, (without naming any lords, or other persons, to be interested in the design, save those only who were imprisoned; among whom the lady Aubigney was one: and without communicating

any of the examinations, which, they pretended, were not to be common till the conspirators were brought to trial,) "that the original of this conspiracy was from the late London petition for peace," which was spoken of about Christmas last in the book precedent; "and that, under pretence of peace and moderation, a party was to be formed, which should be able to suppress all opponents, and to awe the parliament: that, to this purpose, some of those who were the principal movers and fomenters of that petition, did continue, in the nature of a committee, still to carry on the design: that they held intelligence in both armies, court, and parliament; took a general survey of the numbers and affections of the several inhabitants throughout the wards and parishes of the city, and places adjacent; and distinguished all under the titles of men affected, or averse to the king; or indifferent, and neutral persons, carried only by the success and power of the prevailers: that they were well instructed in the number and inclinations of the trained bands of London; the places where the magazines were kept; where the commanders for the parliament dwelt; had thought of places for rendezvous, and retreat, upon any occasion, and of colours, and marks of distinction between the different parties.

"That Mr. Waller and Mr. Tomkins were the principal persons employed, and trusted to give advertisement to, and correspond with, the king's ministers at Oxford; and receive advertisements and commands from thence, for the completing the work; that they two held constant intelli-

" gence and intercourse with the lord Falkland, " then principal secretary to the king; and that " from him they received the signification of the " king's pleasure; and that those directions, coun- " sels, and encouragements had been principally " sent by those messengers which had been em- " ployed by his majesty to the parliament, under " the pretence of peace; and especially by Mr. " [Alexander] Hambden; who came with the last " message, and was a cousin-german to Mr. Wal- " ler. That the lady Aubigney, who had been " lately at Oxford, had brought thence a commis- " sion to them from the king, by force of arms to " destroy, kill, and slay the forces, raised by the " parliament and their adherents, as traitors and " rebels; and that they had lately sent a message " to Oxford by one Hassel, a servant of the king's, " to acquaint the lord Falkland, that the design " was come to good perfection; unto which, answer " was returned, that they should hasten it with all " speed:

" That the particulars of the design appeared to " be: 1. To seize into their custody the king's " children. 2. To seize several members of both " houses, the lord mayor, and committee of the " militia, under pretence of bringing them to a " legal trial. 3. To seize upon the outworks, " forts, Tower of London, magazines, gates, and " other places of importance in the city. 4. To " let in the king's forces to surprise the city, and " to destroy all those who should oppose them by " authority of the parliament. 5. By force of " arms to resist all payments imposed by authority " of parliament, raised for the support of the

" armies employed for their just defence, &c. to " suspend, if not alter, the whole government of " the city, and, with assistance of the king's force, " to awe and master the parliament."

When both houses were awakened, and startled with this report, the first thing agreed on was, " a " day of thanksgiving to God for this wonderful " delivery;" which shut out any future doubts, and disquisitions, whether there had been any such delivery; and, consequently, whether their plot was in truth, or had been so framed. Then it was said, " that as the design was the most deperate, so the " carriage was the most subtle, and among persons " of reputation, and not suspected; and that there " was reason to suspect, many members of both " houses were privy to it; and therefore there " ought to be all possible care taken to make the " discovery perfect, and to unite themselves for " the public defence: that if any part were left " undiscovered, it might prove fatal to the com- " monwealth." This finding a full consent, it was propounded, " that a protestation might be drawn " up, by which every member of the two houses " might purge himself from any guilt of, or privity " in, that conspiracy; and likewise oblige himself " to resist and oppose any such combination." They who were under the character of moderate men, and usually advanced all motions of peace and accommodation, durst not oppose the expedient, lest they should be concluded guilty; most of them having had familiarity with Mr. Waller, and, no doubt, upon sundry occasions, spoken with that freedom to him, as might very well incur a severe interpretation, if, upon this occasion, what

they had said should be scanned. And so, before the rising, there was framed by the house of commons, a vow and covenant to be taken by the members of both houses, and afterwards by the city, and their army; for their jealousy was now spread over all their own quarters; which covenant, for the rareness of it both in title and style, I think necessary here to insert in the very terms; which were these:

A sacred vow, and covenant, taken by the lords and commons assembled in parliament, upon the discovery of the late horrid and treacherous design, for the destruction of this parliament and the kingdom: [*the 6th of June*, 1643.]

"Whereas there hath been, and now is, in this "kingdom, a popish and traitorous plot for the "subversion of the true protestant reformed reli- "gion, and the liberty of the subject; and, in "pursuance thereof, a popish army hath been "raised, and is now on foot in divers parts of this "kingdom; and whereas there hath been a trea- "cherous and horrid design, lately discovered by "the great blessing and especial providence of "God, of divers persons, to join themselves with "the armies raised by the king, and to destroy "the forces raised by the lords and commons in "parliament, to surprise the cities of London and "Westminster, with the suburbs; by arms to force "the parliament; and finding by constant experi- "ence, that many ways of force, and treachery, "are continually attempted, to bring to utter ruin "and destruction the parliament and kingdom; "and that which is dearest, the true protestant

" religion: and that, for the preventing and with-
" standing the same, it is fit, that all, who are
" true hearted, and lovers of their country, should
" bind themselves each to other in a sacred vow
" and covenant:

" I *A. B.* in humility, and reverence of the Di-
" vine Majesty, declare my hearty sorrow for my
" own sins, and the sins of this nation, which have
" deserved the calamities and judgments that now
" lie upon it; and my true intention is, by God's
" grace, to endeavour the amendment of my own
" ways: and I do farther, in the presence of Al-
" mighty God, declare, vow, and covenant, that, in
" order to the security and preservation of the true
" reformed protestant religion, and liberty of the
" subject, I will not consent to the laying down of
" arms, so long as the papists, now in open war
" against the parliament, shall by force of arms be
" protected from the justice thereof: and that I do
" abhor and detest the said wicked and treacherous
" design, lately discovered: and that I never gave,
" nor will give, my assent to the execution thereof,
" but will, according to my power, and vocation,
" oppose and resist the same, and all other of the
" like nature. And in case any other like design
" shall hereafter come to my knowledge, I will
" make such timely discovery, as I shall conceive
" may best conduce to the preventing thereof.
" And whereas I do in my conscience believe, that
" the forces, raised by the two houses of parlia-
" ment, are raised and continued for their just de-
" fence, and for the defence of the true protestant
" religion, and liberty of the subject, against the

" forces raised by the king; that I will, according " to my power, and vocation, assist the forces " raised and continued, by both houses of parlia- " ment, against the forces raised by the king with- " out their consent: and will likewise assist all " other persons that shall take this oath, in what " they shall do in pursuance thereof; and will not " directly, or indirectly, adhere unto, nor shall " willingly assist the forces raised by the king, " without the consent of both houses of parlia- " ment. And this vow, and covenant, I make in " the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of " all hearts, with a true intention to perform the " same, as I shall answer at the great day, when " the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed."

Though many were much startled at this covenant, and took time to consider of it, there being in the preamble, and positive part, much which very few believed, and in the promissory part a more direct denouncing war against the king, than had been in plain terms before avowed by them, and an absolute protestation against peace, till the king were at their mercy; yet the fear of being concluded guilty of the plot, made them swallow all the rest; and the example of one prevailing with many, there was not a member of either house that took it not: and being thus fettered and entangled themselves, they sent their committee into the city, to acquaint them with their " happy discovery, and how miraculously God had " preserved them, and to engage them in the same " sacred vow, and covenant;" which was readily submitted to; and, by the industry of their clergy,

sooner than can be imagined, taken throughout that people. Then it was, with equal diligence and solemnity, transmitted to the army, that their fears of inconvenience from thence might be likewise purged; and thence it grew the mark of distinction, to know their friends and enemies by; and whosoever refused to take that covenant, needed no other charge to be concluded, and prosecuted, as the highest malignant.

Being this way secure from any future clamours for peace, they proceeded to try Mr. Tomkins; Mr. Chaloner, a citizen of good wealth and credit, and most intimate with Tomkins; Mr. Hambden, who brought the last message from the king; one Hassel, a messenger of the king's, who passed often between London and Oxford, and sometimes carried letters and messages to the lord Falkland; and some citizens, whose names were in the commission sent from Oxford; by a council of war; by whom Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Chaloner were condemned to be hanged; and were both, with all circumstances of severity and cruelty, executed: the one on a gibbet, by his own house in Holborn; where he had long lived with singular estimation; and the other, by his house in Cornhill, near the Old Exchange. Hassel the messenger saved them farther trouble, and died in prison the night before his trial: and there being no evidence against Mr. Hambden, but what Mr. Waller himself gave, they gave no judgment against him, but kept him long after in prison, till he died: neither proceeded they capitally against those citizens whose names were in the commission, it not appearing that their names were used

with their consent and privity; though the brand of being malignants served the turn for their undoing; for all their estates were seized, as theirs were who had been executed.

And there is nothing clearer than that the commission sent from Oxford by the lady Aubigney, had not any relation to the discourses passed between Mr. Waller, Tomkins, and those citizens; or that they, who knew of one, had not any privity with the other: which if they had had, and intended such an insurrection, as was alleged, Mr. Waller, and Mr. Tomkins, or some one of those lords who were supposed to combine with them, would have been in the commission. Or if the king's ministers had been engaged in the consultation, and hoped to have raised a party which should suddenly seize upon the city and the parliament, they would never have thought a commission granted to some gentlemen at Oxford, (for the major part of the commissioners were there,) and a few unknown private citizens, would have served for that work. I am very confident, and I have very much reason for that confidence, that there was no more known, or thought of at Oxford, concerning the matter of the commission, than I have before set forth; nor of the other, than that Mr. Tomkins sometimes writ to the lord Falkland, (for Mr. Waller, out of the cautiousness of his own nature, never writ word,) and by messengers signified to him, "that the "number of those who desired peace, and abhorred "the proceedings of the houses, was very con-"siderable; and that they resolved, by refusing to "contribute to the war, and to submit to their "ordinances, to declare and manifest themselves

" in that manner, that the violent party in the city " should not have credit enough to hinder any ac- " commodation." And the lord Falkland always returned answer, " that they should expedite those " expedients, as soon as might be, for that delays " made the war more difficult to be restrained." And if I could find evidence, or reason, to induce me to believe, that there was any farther design in the thing itself, or that the king gave farther countenance to it, I should not at all conceal it; no man imagining, that if the king could have entertained any probable hope of reducing London, which was the fomenter, supporter, and indeed the life of the war; or could have found any expedient, from whence he could reasonably propose to dissolve, scatter, and disperse those who, under the name of a parliament, had kindled a war against him, but he would have given his utmost assistance and countenance thereunto, either by public force, or private contrivance.

There were very great endeavours used, to have proceeded with equal severity against the earl of Portland, and the lord Conway, (for the accusation of the earl of Northumberland, it was proceeded tenderly in; for though the violent party was heartily incensed against him, as a man weary of them, yet his reputation was still very great,) who were both close prisoners; and, to that purpose, their lordships and Mr. Waller were confronted before the committee; where they as peremptorily denying, as he charging them, and there being no other witness but he against them, the prosecution was rather let alone than declined, till after a long restraint they procured enlargement upon bail.

Mr. Waller himself, (though confessedly the most guilty; and by his unhappy demeanour, in this time of his affliction, he had raised as many enemies as he had formerly friends, and almost the same,) after he had, with incredible dissimulation, acted such a remorse of conscience, as his trial was put off out of Christian compassion, till he might recover his understanding, (and that was not, till the heat and fury of the prosecutors was reasonably abated with the sacrifices they had made,) and, by drawing visitants to himself, of the most powerful ministers of all factions, had, by his liberality and penitence, his *preces* and his *lacrymæ*, his receiving vulgar and vile sayings from them with humility and reverence, as clearer convictions and informations than in his life he had ever had; and distributing great sums to them for their prayers and ghostly counsel; so satisfied them, that they satisfied others; was brought, at his suit, to the house of commons' bar; where (being a man in truth very powerful in language; and who, by what he spoke, and in the manner of speaking it, exceedingly captivated the good-will and benevolence of his hearers; which is the highest part of an orator) with such flattery, as was most exactly calculated to that meridian, with such a submission, as their vulgar pride took delight in, and such dejection of mind, and spirit, as was like to cozen the major part, and be thought serious; he laid before them "their own danger and con-"cernment, if they should suffer one of their own "body, how unworthy and monstrous soever, to be "tried by the soldiers, who might thereby grow to "that power hereafter, that they would both try

" those they would not be willing should be tried, " and for things, which they would account no " crimes; the inconvenience and insupportable " mischief whereof all wise commonwealths had " foreseen, and prevented, by exempting their own " members from all judgments but their own:" he prevailed, not to be tried by a council of war; and thereby preserved his dear-bought life; so that, in truth, he does as much owe the keeping his head to that oration, as Catiline did the loss of his to those of Tully: and by having done ill very well, he, by degrees, drew that respect to his parts, which always carries some compassion to the person, that he got them to compound for his transgression, and to accept of ten thousand pounds (which their affairs wanted) for his liberty; and so he had leave to recollect himself in another country (for his liberty was to be in banishment) how miserable he had made himself, to have leave to live out of his own. And there cannot be a greater evidence of the inestimable value of his parts, than that he lived, after this, in the good affection and esteem of many, the pity of most, and the reproach and scorn of none.

. These high proceedings at London, and in the houses, were not seconded with any notable success abroad; but it appeared plainly, by the slow coming in of monies, and more slow coming in of men, that the hearts of the people were generally more devoted to peace, than to the continuance of those distractions; and the earl of Essex, by the great decay and sickness of his army, was not, in near six weeks, able to remove from Reading; by which many men concluded, which could not be

reasonably foreseen; that if Reading had held out many days longer, he would have been compelled to raise his siege; and that was the reason the earl gave for granting so good conditions: for if he could have stayed longer before it, he well knew, they must have yielded on worse terms; neither feared he the king would be able to relieve it. In the end, there being no other way to quiet the city of London, he marched towards Oxford; but, in truth, rather to secure Buckinghamshire, which was now infested by the king's horse, than to disquiet that place. And, to that purpose, he fixed his head quarter at Thame, ten miles from Oxford, and upon the very edge of the other county.

In the beginning of the war, the army in Scotland having been lately disbanded, many officers of that nation, who had served in Germany and in France, betook themselves to the service of the parliament; whereof many were men of good conduct and courage; though there were more as bad as the cause in which they engaged. Of the former sort colonel Urry was a man of name and reputation, and an excellent officer of horse, and had commanded those horse at Edge-hill under Balfour, which had preserved their army there; and finding himself afterwards not so well regarded, as, he thought, he had deserved, as it was no easy thing to value that people at the rate they did set upon themselves; and being without any other affection for their service, than their pay inclined him to, he resolved to quit them, and to go to the king; in order to which, he had kept some correspondence with the earl of Brainford, the king's general; under whose command he had formerly served in

Germany. Whilst the earl of Essex remained at Thame, and his army quartered thereabout, Urry came to Oxford, in the equipage that became a colonel of horse who had received good pay; and the very next day after he came, having been very graciously received by the king, to give proof that he brought his whole heart with him, he went to prince Rupert, acquainted him where the parliament horse lay, and how loose they were in their quarters; and, to give a testimony of his fidelity to the king, he desired to march a volunteer with a good party, to make an attempt upon the enemy; and the prince assigning a strong party for the service, he accompanied, and conducted them out of the common road, till they came to a town; where a regiment of the parliament's horse was quartered; which they beat up, and killed or took most of the officers and soldiers; and then fell upon those other quarters, by which they had passed before, with the like success; so he returned to Oxford with many prisoners, and with notable damage to the enemy.

And as soon as he returned, he made another proposition to the prince for the attacking the quarters near Thame; through which he had passed, when he came to Oxford, and so was well acquainted with the posture in which they were; and assured the prince, "that, if he went about it "time enough, before there should be any altera-"tion in their quarters, which he believed the "general would quickly make, the enterprise "would be worthy of it." And the prince was so well satisfied with what he had already done, that he resolved to conduct the next adventure

himself, which he did very fortunately. They went out of the ports of Oxford in the evening upon a Saturday, and marched beyond all the quarters as far as Wickham, and fell in there at the farther end of the town towards London, from whence they expected no enemy, and so kept no guards there. A regiment of horse, and of foot, were lodged there; which were cut off, or taken prisoners; and all the horses and a good booty brought away. And from thence they marched backward to another quarter, within less than two miles of the general's own quarters; where his men lodged with the same security they had done at Wickham, not expecting any enemy that way; and so met with the same fate the others had done; and were all killed, or made prisoners. And having performed at least as much as they had proposed to do, and being laden with prisoners and booty, and the sun being now rising, the prince thought it time to retire to Oxford, and so gave orders to march accordingly with all convenient speed, till they came to a bridge which was yet two miles from them, where he had appointed a guard to attend, to favour their retreat.

But the alarm had been brought to the earl of Essex from all the quarters, who quickly gathered those troops together, which were nearest; and directed those to follow the prince, and to entertain him in skirmishes, till himself should come up with the foot, and some other troops; which he made all possible haste to do. So that when the prince had almost passed a fair plain, or field, called Chalgrave field, from whence he was to enter a lane, which continued to the bridge; the

enemy's horse were discovered marching after them with speed; and as they might easily overtake them in the lane, so they must as easily have put them into great disorder. Therefore the prince resolved to expect, and stand them upon the open field, though his horse were all tired, and the sun was grown very hot, it being about eight of the clock in the morning in [June]. And so he directed, "that the guard of the prisoners should "make what haste they could to the bridge, but "that all the rest should return;" for some were entered the lane: and so he placed himself and his troops, as he thought fit, in that field to receive the enemy; which made more haste, and with less order than they should have done; and being more in number than the prince, and consisting of many of the principal officers, who, having been present with the earl of Essex when the alarm came, stayed not for their own troops, but joined with those who were ready in the pursuit, as they thought, of a flying enemy, or such as would easily be arrested in their hasty retreat; and, having now overtaken them, meant to take revenge themselves for the damage they had received that night, and morning, before the general could come up to have a share in the victory, though his troops were even in view. But the prince entertained them so roughly, that though their fronts charged very bravely and obstinately, consisting of many of their best officers, of which many of the chiefest falling, the rest shewed less vigour, and in a short time they broke, and fled, and were pursued till they came near the earl of Essex's body; which being at near a mile's distance, and making a stand

to receive their flying troops, and to be informed of their disaster, the prince with his troops hastened his retreat, and passed the lane, and came safe to the bridge before any of the earl's forces came up; who found it then to no purpose to go farther, there being a good guard of foot, which had likewise lined both sides of the hedges a good way in the lane. And so the prince, about noon, or shortly after, entered Oxford, with near two hundred prisoners, seven cornets of horse, and four ensigns of foot, with most of the men he carried from thence; some few excepted who had been killed in the action, whereof some were of name.

And the prince presented colonel Urry to the king with a great testimony of the courage he had shewed in the action, as well as of his counsel and conduct in the whole; which was indeed very dexterous, and could have been performed by no man, who had not been very conversant with the nature and humour of those he destroyed. Upon which, the king honoured him with knighthood, and a regiment of horse as soon as it could be raised; and every body magnified and extolled him, as they usually do a man who hath good luck, and the more, because he was a Scotchman, and professed a repentance for having been in rebellion against the king. And he deserves this testimony, and vindication to be given him, against the calumnies which were raised against him, "as if he had "broken his trust, and deserted the service of the "parliament, and betrayed them to the king," which is not true. He had owned and published his discontents long before, and demanded redress and justice in some particulars from the parliament,

in which the earl of Essex thought he had reason; and wished he might receive satisfaction. But the man was in his nature proud and imperious; and had raised many enemies; and was besides of license, and committed many disorders of that kind; and had little other virtue than being a good officer in the field; regular and vigilant in marching, and in his quarters; which the parliament thought other men would attain to, who had fewer vices; and therefore granted nothing that he had desired; upon which he declared, "he would serve them no "longer;" and delivered up his commission to the earl of Essex; and being then pressed to promise, that he would not serve the king, he positively refused to give any such engagement; and after he had stayed in London about a month, and had received encouragement from some friends in Oxford, he came thither in the manner set down before.

The prince's success in this last march was very seasonable, and raised the spirits at Oxford very much, and for some time allayed the jealousies and animosities, which too often broke out in several factions to the disquiet of the king. It was visibly great in the number of the prisoners; whereof many were of condition, and the names of many officers were known, who were left dead upon the field, as colonel Gunter, who was looked upon as the best officer of horse they had, and a man of known malice to the government of the church; which had drawn some severe censure upon him before the troubles, and for which he had still meditated revenge. And one of the prisoners who had been taken in the action said, "that he was confident "Mr. Hambden was hurt, for he saw him ride off

" the field before the action was done, which he " never used to do, and with his head hanging " down, and resting his hands upon the neck of " his horse;" by which he concluded he was hurt. But the news the next day made the victory much more important than it was thought to have been. There was full information brought of the great loss the enemy had sustained in their quarters, by which three or four regiments were utterly broken and lost: the names of many officers, of the best account, were known, who were either killed upon the place, or so hurt as there remained little hope of their recovery.

Among the prisoners, there were taken colonel Sheffield, a younger son of the earl of Mulgrave, and one colonel Beckly a Scotchman; who, being both visibly wounded, acted their hurts so well, and pretended to be so ready to expire, that, upon their paroles neither to endeavour nor endure a rescue, they were suffered to rest at a private house in the way, within a mile of the field, till their wounds should be dressed, and they recover so much strength as to be able to render themselves prisoners at Oxford. But the king's forces were no sooner gone, than they found means to send to their comrades, and were the next day strong enough, to suffer themselves to be removed to Thame, by a strong party sent from the earl of Essex; and, between denying that they had promised, and saying, that they would perform it, they never submitted themselves to be prisoners, as much against the law of arms, as their taking arms was against their allegiance. But that which would have been looked upon as a considerable re-

compence for a defeat, could not but be thought a glorious crown of a victory, which was the death of Mr. Hambden; who, being shot into the shoulder with a brace of bullets, which brake the bone, within three weeks after died with extraordinary pain; to as great a consternation of all that party, as if their whole army had been defeated, or cut off.

Many men observed (as upon signal turns of great affairs, as this was, such observations are frequently made) that the field in which the late skirmish was, and upon which Mr. Hambden received his death's wound, Chalgrave field, was the same place in which he had first executed the ordinance of the militia, and engaged that county, in which his reputation was very great, in this rebellion: and it was confessed by the prisoners that were taken that day, and acknowledged by all, that upon the alarm that morning, after their quarters were beaten up, he was exceedingly solicitous to draw forces together to pursue the enemy; and, being himself a colonel of foot, put himself among those horse as a volunteer, who were first ready; and that when the prince made a stand, all the officers were of opinion to stay till their body came up, and he alone (being second to none but the general himself in the observance and application of all men) persuaded, and prevailed with them to advance; so violently did his fate carry him, to pay the mulct in the place where he had committed the transgression, about a year before.

He was a gentleman of a good family in Buckinghamshire, and born to a fair fortune, and of a most civil and affable deportment. In his en-

trance into the world, he indulged to himself all the license in sports and exercises, and company, which was used by men of the most jolly conversation. Afterwards, he retired to a more reserved and melancholy society, yet preserving his own natural cheerfulness and vivacity, and above all, a flowing courtesy to all men; though they who conversed nearly with him, found him growing into a dislike of the ecclesiastical government of the church, yet most believed it rather a dislike of some churchmen, and of some introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might disquiet the public peace. He was rather of reputation in his own country, than of public discourse, or fame in the kingdom, before the business of ship-money: but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man inquiring who and what he was, that durst, at his own charge, support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country, as he thought, from being made a prey to the court. His carriage, throughout this agitation, was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him narrowly to find some advantage against his person, to make him less resolute in his cause, were compelled to give him a just testimony. And the judgment that was given against him infinitely more advanced him, than the service for which it was given. When this parliament begun, (being returned knight of the shire for the county where he lived,) the eyes of all men were fixed on him, as their *patriæ pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded, his power and interest, at that time, was greater

to do good or hurt, than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time: for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them.

He was of that rare affability and temper in debate, and of that seeming humility and submission of judgment, as if he brought no opinion with him, but a desire of information and instruction; yet he had so subtle a way of interrogating, and, under the notion of doubts, insinuating his objections, that he left his opinions with those from whom he pretended to learn and receive them. And even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and discerned those opinions to be fixed in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the character of an ingenious and conscientious person. He was indeed a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, that is, the most absolute faculties to govern the people, of any man I ever knew. For the first year of the parliament, he seemed rather to moderate and soften the violent and distempered humours, than to inflame them. But wise and dispassioned men plainly discerned, that that moderation proceeded from prudence, and observation that the season was not ripe, rather than that he approved of the moderation; and that he begat many opinions and motions, the education whereof he committed to other men; so far disguising his own designs, that he seemed seldom to wish more than was concluded; and in many gross conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to designs not yet set

on foot, when he found them sufficiently backed by majority of voices, he would withdraw himself before the question, that he might seem not to consent to so much visible unreasonableness; which produced as great a doubt in some, as it did approbation in others, of his integrity. What combination soever had been originally with the Scots for the invasion of England, and what farther was entered into afterwards in favour of them, and to advance any alteration [of the government] in parliament, no man doubts was at least with the privity of this gentleman.

After he was among those members accused by the king of high treason, he was much altered; his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. And without question, when he first drew his sword, he threw away the scabbard; for he passionately opposed the overture made by the king for a treaty from Nottingham, and as eminently, any expedients that might have produced any accommodations in this that was at Oxford; and was principally relied on, to prevent any infusions which might be made into the earl of Essex towards peace, or to render them ineffectual, if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that party, than the general himself. In the first entrance into the troubles, he undertook the command of a regiment of foot, and performed the duty of a colonel, on all occasions, most punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a supreme governor over all his passions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other men's. He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the most laborious; and of parts not

to be imposed upon by the most subtle or sharp; and of a personal courage equal to his best parts; so that he was an enemy not to be wished wherever he might have been made a friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any man could deserve to be. And therefore his death was no less congratulated on the one party, than it was condoled in the other. In a word, what was said of Cinna might well be applied to him; "he had "a head to contrive, and a tongue to persuade, "and a hand to execute, any mischief." His death therefore seemed to be a great deliverance to the nation.

The earl of Essex's army was so weakened by these defeats, and more by the sickness that had wasted it, that it was not thought safe to remain longer so near his unquiet and restless enemies. The factions and animosities at London required his presence there; and he thought the army would be sooner recruited there, than at so great a distance; so that he marched directly from Thame to London, where he found jealousy and contention enough; leaving his army quartered about St. Alban's. Whilst the affairs of the parliament were in this distraction, the king's recovered great reputation; and the season of the year being fit for action, all discontents and factious murmurings were adjourned to the next winter.

The end of the treaty, in which we left the chief commanders of the Cornish forces, with commissioners of the other western counties, was like that in other places; for notwithstanding those extraordinary obligations of oaths, and receiving the sacrament, circumstances in no other treaty, the

parliament no sooner sent their votes and declarations to them, (the same which are before mentioned upon the treaties in Yorkshire and Cheshire,) and some members of their own to overlook and perplex them, but all peaceable inclinations were laid aside; so that (having in the mean time industriously levied money, throughout Somerset and Devon, upon friends and enemies; and a good body of men) the night before the expiration of the treaty and cessation, James Chudleigh, the major general of the rebels, brought a strong party of horse and foot within two miles of Launceston, the head quarter of the Cornish, and the very next morning, the cessation not being determined till after twelve of the clock in the night, marched upon the town, where they were not sufficiently provided for them. For though the commanders of the Cornish had employed their time, as usefully as they could, during the cessation, in preparing the gentry of that country, and all the inhabitants, to submit to a weekly tax for the support of that power, which defended them; over and above which, the gentlemen, and persons of quality, freely brought in all their plate to be disposed of to the public; and though they foresaw, after the committee of parliament came into the country, that the treaty would conclude without fruit, and therefore sir Ralph Hopton and sir Bevil Greenvil repaired to Launceston the day before the expiration of the treaty, to meet any attempt should be made upon them: yet, being to feed and pay their small forces out of one small county, they had been compelled to quarter their men at a great distance, that no one part might be more

oppressed than was necessary: so that all that was done the first day was, by the advantage of passes, and lining of hedges, to keep the enemy in action, till the other forces came up; which they seasonably did towards the evening; and then the enemy, who received good loss in that day's action, grew so heartless, that in the night they retired to Okington, fifteen miles from the place of their skirmish. After which many small skirmishes ensued, for many days, with various success; sometimes the Cornish advancing in Devon, and then retiring again; for it appeared now, that a formed army was marching against them, so far superior in number, that there was no reasonable hope of resistance.

Towards the middle of May, the earl of Stamford marched into Cornwall, by the north part, with a body of fourteen hundred horse and dragoons, and five thousand four hundred foot by the poll, with a train of thirteen brass ordnance, and a mortar-piece, and a very plentiful magazine of victual and ammunition, and every way in as good an equipage, as could be provided by men who wanted no money; whilst the king's small forces, being not half the number, and unsupplied with every useful thing, were at Launceston; of whom the enemy had so full a contempt, though they knew they were marching to them, within six or seven miles, that they considered only how to take them after they were dispersed, and to prevent their running into Pendennis castle, to give them farther trouble. To which purpose having encamped themselves upon the flat top of a very high hill, to which the ascents were very steep every way, near

Stratton, being the only part of Cornwall eminently disaffected to the king's service, they sent a party of twelve hundred horse and dragoons, under the command of sir George Chudleigh, father to their major general, to Bodmin, to surprise the high sheriff and principal gentlemen of the country; and thereby, not only to prevent the coming up of any more strength to the king's party, but, under the awe of such a power of horse, to make the whole country rise for them. This design, which was not in itself unreasonable, proved fortunate to the king. For his forces which marched from Launceston, with a resolution to fight with the enemy, upon any disadvantage of place or number, (which, how hazardous soever, carried less danger with it, than retiring into the county, or any thing else that was in their power,) easily now resolved to assault the camp in the absence of their horse; and, with this resolution, they marched on Monday, the fifteenth of May, within a mile of the enemy; being so destitute of all provisions, that the best officer had but a biscuit a man a day, for two days, the enemy looking upon them as their own.

On Tuesday the sixteenth of May, about five of the clock in the morning, they disposed themselves to their work; having stood in their arms all the night. The number of foot was about two thousand four hundred, which they divided into four parts, and agreed on their several provinces. The first was commanded by the lord Mohun and sir Ralph Hopton; who undertook to assault the camp on the south side. Next them, on the left hand, sir John Berkley and sir Bevil Greenvil were to

force their way. Sir Nicholas Slanning and colonel Trevannion were to assault the north side; and, on the left hand, colonel Thomas Basset, who was major general of their foot, and colonel William Godolphin were to advance with their party; each party having two pieces of cannon to dispose as they found necessary: colonel John Digby commanding the horse and dragoons, being about five hundred, stood upon a sandy common which had a way to the camp, to take any advantage he could on the enemy, if they charged; otherwise, to be firm as a reserve.

In this manner the fight began; the king's forces pressing, with their utmost vigour, those four ways up the hill, and the enemy's as obstinately defending their ground. The fight continued with very doubtful success, till towards three of the clock in the afternoon; when word was brought to the chief officers of the Cornish, that their ammunition was spent to less than four barrels of powder; which (concealing the defect from the soldiers) they resolved could be only supplied with courage: and therefore, by messengers to one another, they agreed to advance with their full bodies, without making any more shot, till they reached the top of the hill, and so might be upon even ground with the enemy; wherein the officer's courage, and resolution, was so well seconded by the soldier, that they began to get ground in all places; and the enemy, in wonder of the men, who outfaced their shot with their swords, to quit their post. Major general Chudleigh, who ordered the battle, failed in no part of a soldier; and when he saw his men recoil from less numbers, and the enemy in all

places gaining the hill upon him, himself advanced, with a good stand of pikes, upon that party which was led by sir John Berkley and sir Bevil Greenvil; and charged them so smartly, that he put them into disorder; sir Bevil Greenvil, in the shock, being borne to the ground, but quickly relieved by his companion; they so reinforced the charge, that having killed most of the assailants, and dispersed the rest, they took the major general prisoner, after he had behaved himself with as much courage, as a man could do. Then the enemy gave ground apace, insomuch as the four parties, growing nearer and nearer as they ascended the hill, between three and four of the clock they all met together upon one ground near the top of the hill; where they embraced with unspeakable joy, each congratulating the other's success, and all acknowledging the wonderful blessing of God; and being there possessed of some of the enemy's cannon, they turned them upon the camp, and advanced together to perfect the victory. But the enemy no sooner understood the loss of their major general, but their hearts failed them; and being so resolutely pressed, and their ground lost, upon the security and advantage whereof they wholly depended, some of them threw down their arms, and others fled; dispersing themselves, and every man shifting for himself: their general, the earl of Stamford, giving the example, who, (having stood at a safe distance all the time of the battle, environed with all the horse, which in small parties, though it is true their whole number was not above six or seven score, might have done great mischief to the several parties of foot, who with so much difficulty scaled

the steep hill,) as soon as he saw the day lost, and some said sooner, made all imaginable haste to Exeter, to prepare them for the condition they were shortly to expect.

The conquerors, as soon as they had gained the camp, and dispersed the enemy, and after public prayers upon the place, and a solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God for their deliverance and victory, sent a small party of horse to pursue the enemy for a mile or two; not thinking fit to pursue farther, or with their whole body of horse, lest sir George should return from Bodmin with his strong body of horse and dragoons, and find them in disorder; but contenting themselves with the victory they had obtained upon the place, which, in substance as well as circumstance, was as signal a one as hath happened to either party since the unhappy distraction; for on the king's party were not lost in all above fourscore men; whereof few were officers, and none above the degree of a captain; and though many more were hurt, not above ten men died afterwards of their wounds. On the parliament side, notwithstanding their advantage of ground, and that the other were the assailants, above three hundred were slain on the place, and seventeen hundred taken prisoners, with their major general, and above thirty other officers. They took likewise all their baggage and tents, all their cannon, being, as was said before, thirteen pieces of brass ordnance, and a brass mortar-piece; all their ammunition, being seventy barrels of powder, and all other sorts of ammunition proportionable, and a very great magazine of biscuit, and other excellent provisions of victuals; which was

as seasonable a blessing as the victory, to those who, for three or four days before, had suffered great want of food as well as sleep, and were equally tired with duty and hunger. The army rested that night and the next day at Stratton; all care being taken by express messengers, to disperse the news of their success to all parts of that country, and to guard the passes upon the river Tamar, whereby to hinder the return of the enemy's horse and dragoons. But sir George Chudleigh had no sooner, with great triumph, dispersed the high sheriff, and gentlemen, who intended to have called the *posse comitatus*, according to their good custom, for the assistance of the king's party, and with little resistance entered Bodmin, but he received the fatal news of the loss of their camp and army at Stratton. Upon which, with as much haste and disorder, as so great a consternation could produce among a people not acquainted with the accidents of war, leaving many of his men and horses a prey to the country people, himself, with as many as he could get, and keep together, got into Plymouth; and thence, without interruption or hazard, into Exeter.

The earl of Stamford, to make his own conduct and misfortune the less censured, industriously spread abroad in all places, and confidently sent the same information to the parliament, "that he "had been betrayed by James Chudleigh; and "that, in the heat of the battle, when the hope of "the day stood fair, he had voluntarily, with a "party, run over to the enemy, and immediately "charged the parliament forces; which begot in "all men a general apprehension of treachery, the

"soldiers fearing their officers', and the officers "their soldiers' revolt; and thereupon the rout "ensued." Whereas the truth is, as he was a young man of excellent parts and courage, he performed the part of a right good commander, both in his orders and his person; and was taken prisoner in the body of his enemy, whither he had charged with undaunted courage, when there was no other expedient in reason left. But this scandal so without colour cast on him, and entertained with more credit than his services had merited, (for, from the time of his engagement to the parliament, he had served not only with full ability, but with notable success, and was the only man that had given any interruption to the prosperity of the Cornish army, and in a night-skirmish, at Bradock Down near Okington, struck a great terror into them, and disordered them more than they were at any other time,) wrought so far upon the young man, together with the kind usage and reception he found as a prisoner among the chief officers, who loved him as a gallant enemy, and one like to do the king good service if he were recovered to his loyalty, that after he had been prisoner about ten days, he freely declared, "that he "was convinced in his conscience and judgment of "the errors he had committed;" and, upon promise made to him of the king's pardon, frankly offered to join with them in his service; and so gave some countenance to the reproach that was first most injuriously cast on him.

The truth is, he was of too good an understanding, and too much generosity in his nature, to be affected to the cause which he served, or to comply

with those arts, which he saw practised to carry it on; and having a command in Ireland when the war first broke out, he came thence into England, with a purpose to serve the king; and to that purpose, shortly after his majesty's coming to Oxford, he came thither to tender his service: but he found the eyes of most men fixed on him with prejudice and jealousy there, both for his family's sake, which was notoriously disaffected to the king, and for some errors of his own, in that plot, that was so much spoken of, to bring up the northern army to awe the parliament; in which business, being then a very young man, and of a stirring spirit, and desirous of a name, he had expressed much zeal to the king's service, and been busy in inclining the army to engage in such petitions and undertakings, as were not gracious to the parliament. But when that discovery was made by Mr. Goring, as is before remembered, and a committee appointed to examine the combination, this gentleman, wrought upon by hopes, or fears, in his examination, said much that was disadvantageous to the court, and therefore, bringing no other testimony with him to Oxford, but of his own conscience, he received nothing like countenance there; whereupon he returned to London, sufficiently incensed that he was neglected; and was quickly entertained for their western employment, where his nearest friends were throughly engaged. But after this defeat, his former passion being allayed, and his observation and experience convincing him, that the designs of the parliament were not such as were pretended, he resigned himself to those who first conquered him with force, and then with

reason and civility; and, no doubt, was much wrought upon by the discipline and integrity of the forces, by whom he had been subdued; and with the piety, temper, and sobriety of the chief commanders, which indeed was most exemplary, and worthy the cause for which they were engaged; the reputation and confession whereof had alone carried them through the difficulties and straits, with which they were to contend.

The army, willing to relieve their friends of Cornwall, from the burden which they sustained so patiently, hastened their march into Devonshire, not throughly resolved whether to attack Plymouth, or Exeter, or both; when advertisement came to them, by an express from Oxford, "that the king "had sent prince Maurice, and the marquis of "Hertford, with a very good body of horse, to "join with them; and that they were advanced "towards them as far as Somersetshire; and that sir "William Waller was designed by the parliament, "to visit the west, with a new army, which would "receive a good recruit from those who escaped "from the battle of Stratton:" so that it was necessary for all the king's forces in those parts to be united in a body, as soon as might be: hereupon it was quickly resolved to leave such a party at Saltash and Milbrook, as might defend faithful Cornwall from any incursions of Plymouth, and with their army to march eastward; their number increasing daily upon the reputation of their new wonderful victory; many volunteers coming to them out of Devonshire, and very many of their prisoners professing, they had been seduced, and freely offering to serve the king against those who

had wronged both; who, being entertained under some of their own converted officers, behaved themselves afterwards with great honesty and courage. And so making no longer stay by the way, than was necessary for the refreshing of their troops, the Cornish army, for that was the style it now carried, marched by Exeter, where the earl of Stamford, with a sufficient garrison, then was; and staying only two or three days to fix small garrisons, whereby that town, full of fear and apprehension, might be kept from having too great an influence upon so populous a county, advanced to Tiverton, where a regiment of foot of the parliament, under colonel Ware, a gentleman of that country, had fixed themselves; hoping sir William Waller would be as soon with them for their relief, as the Cornish would be to force them; which [regiment] being easily dispersed, they stayed there to expect new orders from the marquis of Hertford.

When the loss of Reading was well digested, and the king understood the declining condition of the earl of Essex's army, and that he would either not be able to advance, or not in such a manner, as would give him much trouble at Oxford; and hearing in what prosperous state his hopeful party in Cornwall stood, whither the parliament was making all haste to send sir William Waller, to check their good success; his majesty resolved to send the marquis of Hertford into those parts, the rather because there were many of the prime gentlemen of Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, who confidently undertook, if the marquis went through those counties,

with such a strength as they supposed the king would spare to him, they would in a very short time raise so considerable a power, as to oppose any force the parliament should be able to send. When the marquis was ready for his journey, news arrived of the great victory at Stratton; so that there was no danger of the marquis's being able to join with that little Cornish army; and then there appeared indeed a visible body worthy the name of an army. This put some persons upon desiring, that prince Maurice (who was yet in no other quality of command, than of a private colonel of horse, but had always behaved himself with great courage and vigilance) might be likewise disposed into a command of that army. Hereupon the king assigned him, and his highness willingly accepted to be lieutenant general under the marquis; who for many reasons, besides that he was actually possessed of it, was thought only fit to have the superior power over those western counties, where his fortune lay, and the estimation and reverence of the people to him was very notorious. So the prince and the marquis, with prince Maurice's, and the earl of Carnarvon's, and colonel Thomas Howard's regiments of horse (the earl being general of the cavalry) advanced into the west; and staying only some few days at Salisbury, and after in Dorsetshire, whilst some new regiments of horse and foot, which were levying by the gentlemen in those parts, came up to them, made all convenient haste into Somersetshire, being desirous to join with the Cornish as soon as might be; presuming they should be then best able to perfect their new levies, when they were out of apprehen-

sion of being disturbed by a more powerful force. For sir William Waller was already marched out of London, and used not to stay longer by the way than was unavoidably necessary.

In the marquis's first entrance into the west, he had an unspeakable loss, and the king's service a far greater, by the death of Mr. Rogers, a gentleman of a rare temper, and excellent understanding; who, besides that he had a great interest in the marquis, being his cousin-german, and so, out of that private relation, as well as zeal to the public, passionately inclined to advance the service, had a wonderful great influence upon the county of Dorset, for which he served as one of the knights in parliament; and had so well designed all things there, that Poole and Lyme, (two port towns in that county, which gave the king afterwards much trouble,) if he had lived, had been undoubtedly reduced. But by his death all those hopes were cancelled, the surviving gentry of that shire being, how well affected soever, so unactive, that the progress, that was that year made there to the king's advantage, owed little to their assistance.

About the middle of June, prince Maurice, and the marquis, with sixteen or seventeen hundred horse, and about one thousand new levied foot, and seven or eight field-pieces, came to Chard, a fair town in Somersetshire, nearest the edge of Devonshire; where, according to order, they were met by the Cornish army; which consisted of above three thousand excellent foot, five hundred horse, and three hundred dragoons, with four or five field-pieces; so that, officers and all, being

joined, they might well pass for an army of seven thousand men; with an excellent train of artillery, and a very fair proportion of ammunition of all sorts, and so good a reputation, that they might well promise themselves a quick increase of their numbers. Yet if the extraordinary temper and virtue of the chief officers of the Cornish had not been much superior to that of their common soldiers, who valued themselves high, as the men whose courage had alone vindicated the king's cause in the west, there might have been greater disorder at their first joining, than could easily have been composed. For how small soever the marquis's party was in numbers, it was supplied with all the general officers of a royal army, a general, lieutenant general, general of the horse, general of the ordnance, a major general of horse, and another of foot, without keeping suitable commands for those who had done all that was past, and were to be principally relied on for what was to come. So that the chief officers of the Cornish army, by joining with a much less party than themselves, were at best in the condition of private colonels. Yet the same public thoughts still so absolutely prevailed with them, that they quieted all murmurings and emulations among inferior officers, and common soldiers; and were, with equal candour and estimation, valued by the prince and marquis, who bethought themselves of all expedients, which might prevent any misunderstanding.

Taunton was the first place they resolved to visit, being the fairest, largest, and richest town in Somersetshire; but withal as eminently affected to

the parliament, where they had now a garrison; but they had not yet the same courage they recovered afterwards: for the army was no sooner drawn near the town, the head quarters being at Orchard, a house of the Portmans, two miles from the town, but the town sent two of their substantial inhabitants to treat; which, though nothing was concluded, struck that terror into the garrison, (the prisoners in the castle, whereof many were men of good fortunes, imprisoned there as malignants, at the same time raising some commotion there,) that the garrison fled out of the town to Bridgewater, being a less town, but of a much stronger situation; and, with the same panic fear, the next day, from thence; so that the marquis was possessed, in three days, of Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunstar castle, so much stronger than both the other, that it could not have been forced; yet by the dexterity of Francis Windham, who wrought upon the fears of the owner and master of it, Mr. Lutterel, was, with as little bloodshed as the other, delivered up to the king; into which the marquis put him, that took it, as governor; as he well deserved.

The government of Taunton he committed to sir John Stawell, a gentleman of a very great estate in those parts; and who, from the beginning, had heartily and personally engaged himself and his children for the king; and was in the first form of those who had made themselves obnoxious to the parliament. The other government, of Bridgewater, was conferred upon Edmund Windham, high sheriff of the county, being a gentleman of a fortune near the place, and of good personal

courage, and unquestionable affection to the cause. The army stayed about Taunton seven or eight days, for the settling those garrisons, and to receive advertisements of the motion or station of the enemy; in which time they lost much of the credit and reputation they had with the country. For whereas the chief commanders of the Cornish army had restrained their soldiers from all manner of license, obliging them to solemn and frequent actions of devotion, insomuch as the fame of their religion and discipline was no less than of their courage, and thereupon sir Ralph Hopton (who was generally considered as the general of that army, though it was governed by such a commission as is before remembered) was greedily expected in his own country, where his reputation was second to no man's; the horse, that came now with the marquis, having lived under a looser discipline, and coming now into plentiful quarters, unvisited by an army, and yielding some excuse to this by the eminency of their disaffection, were disorderly enough to give the enemy credit in laying more to their charge than they deserved; and by their license hindered those orderly levies, which should have brought in a supply of money, for the regular payment of the army. And this extravagancy produced another mischief, some jealousy, or shadow of it, between the lord marquis and prince Maurice; the first, as being better versed in the policy of peace, than in the mysteries of war, desiring to regulate the soldier, and to restrain him from using any license upon the country; and the prince being thought so wholly to incline to the soldier, that he neglected any

consideration of the country, and not without some design of drawing the sole dependence of the soldier upon himself. But here were the seeds rather sown of dislike, than any visible disinclination produced; for after they had settled the garrisons before mentioned, they advanced, with unity and alacrity, eastward, to find out the enemy, which was gathered together in a considerable body, within less than twenty miles of them.

Whilst so much time was spent at Oxford, to prepare the supplies for the west, and in settling the manner of sending them; which might have been done much sooner, and with less noise; the parliament foresaw, that if all the west were recovered from them, their quarters would by degrees be so straitened, that their other friends would quickly grow weary of them. They had still all the western ports at their devotion, those in Cornwall only excepted; and their fleets had always great benefit by it. And though most of the gentry were engaged against them, as they were in truth throughout the kingdom, yet the common people, especially in the clothing parts of Somersetshire, were generally too much inclined to them. So that they could not want men, if they sent a body of horse, and some arms, to countenance them; with the last of which they had stored the sea-towns, which were in their hands, sufficiently. And therefore they resolved, that, though they could not easily recruit their army, they would send some troops of horse, and dragoons, into the west, to keep up the spirits of their friends there. And for the conduct of this service, they made choice of sir William Waller, a

member of the house of commons, and a gentleman of a family in Kent.

Sir William Waller had been well bred; [and,] having spent some years abroad, and some time in the armies there, returned with a good reputation home; and shortly after, having married a young lady, who was to inherit a good fortune in the west, he had a quarrel with a gentleman of the same family, who had the honour to be a menial servant to the king in a place near his person; which, in that time, was attended with privilege and respect from all men. These two gentlemen discoursing with some warmth together, sir William Waller received such provocation from the other, that he struck him a blow over the face, so near the gate of Westminster-hall, that he got witnesses to swear "that it was in the hall itself," the courts being then sitting; which, according to the rigour of law, makes it very penal; and the credit the other had in the court made the prosecution to be very severe; insomuch as he was at last compelled to redeem himself at a dear ransom; the benefit whereof was conferred on his adversary, which made the sense of it the more grievous: and this produced in him so eager a spirit against the court, that he was very open to any temptation, that might engage him against it; and so concurring in the house of commons with all those counsels which were most violent, he was employed in their first military action, for the reducing of Portsmouth; which he effected with great ease, as is remembered before: and when the earl of Essex had put the army into winter quarters, he had with some troops made a cavalcade or two into the

west, so fortunately, that he had not only beat up some loose quarters, but had surprised a fixed and fortified quarter, made by the lord Herbert of Ragland near Gloucester; in which he took above twelve hundred prisoners, with all the officers; being a number very little inferior to his own party; which is likewise particularly remembered before. So that he got great reputation with the parliament and the city; and was called William the Conqueror. And it is very true, that they who looked upon the earl of Essex as a man that would not keep them company to the end of their journey, had their eyes upon sir William Waller, as a man more for their turn; and were desirous to extol him the more, that he might eclipse the other. And therefore they prepared all things for his march with so great expedition and secrecy, that the marquis of Hertford was no sooner joined to the Cornish troops, (in which time Bridgewater, and Dunstar, and some other places, were reduced from the parliament,) before he was informed that sir William Waller was within two days' march of him, and was more like to draw supplies to him from Bristol, and the parts adjacent, which were all under the parliament, than the marquis could from the open country; and therefore it was held most counsellable to advance, and engage him, whilst he was not yet too strong; and by this means they should continue still their march towards Oxford; which they were now inclined to do.

Though sir William Waller himself continued still at Bath, yet the remainder of those horse and dragoons that escaped out of Cornwall, after the

battle of Stratton, and such other as were sent out of Exeter for their ease, when they apprehended a siege, and those soldiers who fled out of Taunton and Bridgewater, and other regiments of the country, were by Alexander Popham, Strode, and the other deputy lieutenants of the militia for Somerset, rallied; and with the trained bands, and volunteer regiments of the country, drawn together, with that confidence, that when the marquis had taken up his head quarters at Somerton, the enemy, before break of day, fell upon a regiment of dragoons, quartered a mile eastward from the town; and gave so brisk an alarm to the king's army, that it was immediately drawn out, and advanced upon the enemy, (being the first they had seen make any stand before them, since the battle of Stratton,) who making stands upon the places of advantage, and maintaining little skirmishes in the rear, retired in no ill order to Wells; and the king's forces still pursuing, they chose to quit that city likewise; and drew their whole body, appearing in number as considerable as their pursuers, to the top of a hill, called Mendip Hill, overlooking the city of Wells, which they had left. The day being far spent, and the march having been long, the marquis, with all the foot, and train, stayed at Wells; but prince Maurice, and the earl of Carnarvon, with sir Ralph Hopton, and sir John Berkley, and two regiments of horse, resolved to look upon the enemy on the top of the hill; who suffered them, without interruption, to gain the top of the hill level with them, and then, in a very orderly manner, facing with a large front of their horse, to give their foot and baggage leisure and security, retired together as the prince advanced. This,

and the natural contempt the king's horse yet had of the enemy, which in all skirmishes and charges had been hitherto beaten by them, made the prince judge this to be but a more graceful running away; and therefore followed them over those large hills farther than before; till the enemy, who were anon to pass through a lane, and a village called Chewton, were compelled, before their entrance into the lane, to leave their reserve; which faced about much thinner than it was over the hill: which opportunity and advantage was no sooner discerned, as it had been foreseen, but the earl of Carnarvon (who always charged home) with incomparable gallantry charged the enemy, and pressed them so hard, that he entered the lane with them, and routed the whole body of their horse, and followed the execution of them above two miles.

But this was like to have been a dear success; for sir William Waller, who lay with his new army at Bath, and had drawn to him a good supply out of the garrison at Bristol, had directed this body which was in Somerset, to retire before the king's forces till they should join with him, who had sent a fresh, strong party of horse and dragoons, to assist their retreat; which, by the advantage of a fog, had marched without being discovered: so that the earl of Carnarvon, being a stranger in the country and the ways, pursued the flying enemy into sir William Waller's quarters, and till himself was pressed by a fresh body of horse and dragoons; when he was necessitated to retire in as good order as he could; and sent the prince, who followed him, word of the danger which attended them. His highness hereupon, with what haste he could, drew back through the

village; choosing rather, with very good reason, to attend the enemy in the plain heath, than to be engaged in a narrow passage: thither the earl of Carnarvon with his regiment came to him, broken and chased by the enemy; who immediately drew up a large front of horse and dragoons, much stronger than the prince's party, who had only his own, and the earl of Carnarvon's regiments, with some gentlemen volunteers. The strait, and necessity he was in, was very great; for as he might seem much too weak to charge them, so the danger might probably be much greater to retire over these fair hills, being pursued with a fresh party much superior in number. Therefore he took a gallant resolution, to give the enemy a brisk charge with his own regiment upon their advance, whilst the earl rallied his, and prepared to second him, as there should be occasion. This was as soon and fortunately executed as resolved; the prince in the head of his regiment charging so vigorously, that he utterly broke and routed that part of the front that received the impression. But almost half the enemy's horse, that, being extended larger than his front, were not charged, wheeled about, and charged the prince in the rear; and at the same time the earl of Carnarvon, with his rallied regiment, charged their rear; and all this so throughly performed, that they were mingled pallmall one among the other, and the good sword [was] to decide the controversy, their pistols being spent in the close. The prince himself received two shrewd hurts in his head, and was beaten off his horse; but he was presently relieved, and carried off; and the enemy totally routed, and pursued again by

the earl of Carnarvon; who had a fair execution upon them, as long as the light countenanced his chase, and then he returned to the head quarters at Wells; there having been in these skirmishes threescore or fourscore men lost on the prince's party, and three times that number by the enemy; the action being too quick to take many prisoners.

At Wells the army rested many days, as well to recover the prince's wounds, being only cuts with swords, as to consult what was next to be done: for they were now within distance of an enemy that they knew would fight with them. For sir William Waller was at Bath with his whole army, much increased by those who were chased out of the west; and resolved not to advance, having all advantages of provisions, and passes, till a new supply, he every day expected from London, were arrived with him. On the other side, the marquis was not only to provide to meet with so vigilant an enemy, but to secure himself at his rear, that the disaffection of the people behind him, who were only subdued, not converted, upon the advance of sir William Waller, might not take fresh courage. Though Cornwall was reasonably secured, to keep off any impression upon itself from Plymouth, yet Devonshire was left in a very unsafe posture: there being only a small party at Columb-John, a house of sir John Ackland's, three miles off Exeter, to control the power of that city, where the earl of Stamford was; and to dispute not only with any commotion that might happen in the country, but with any power that might arrive by sea. Upon these considerations, and the intelligence, that the parliament had sent directions to the earl of War-

wick their admiral, "to attend the Devonshire "coast with his fleet, and take any advantage he "could," the marquis, by the advice of the council of war, sent sir John Berkley back into Devonshire, with colonel Howard's regiment of horse, to command the forces which were then there, and to raise what numbers more he could possibly, for the blocking up that city, and reducing the county; and upon his arrival there, to send up to the army sir James Hamilton's regiment of horse and dragoons; which had been left in Devonshire; and, by the license they took, weakened the king's party; so that, by sending this relief thither, he did not lessen at all his own numbers, yet gave great strength to the reducing those parts, as appeared afterwards by the success.

After this disposition, and eight or ten days' rest at Wells, the army generally expressing a handsome impatience to meet with the enemy, of which, at that time, they had a greater contempt, than in reason they should have; the prince and marquis advanced to Frome, and thence to Bradford, within four miles of Bath. And now no day passed without action, and very sharp skirmishes; sir William Waller having received from London a fresh regiment of five hundred horse, under the command of sir Arthur Haslerig: which were so prodigiously armed, that they were called by the other side the regiment of lobsters, because of their bright iron shells, with which they were covered, being perfect cuirassiers; and were the first seen so armed on either side, and the first that made any impression upon the king's horse; who, being unarmed, were not able to bear a shock with them; besides that

they were secure from hurts of the sword, which were almost the only weapons the other were furnished with.

The contention was hitherto with parties; in which the successes were various, and almost with equal losses: for as sir William Waller, upon the first advance from Wells, beat up a regiment of horse and dragoons of sir James Hamilton's, and dispersed them; so, within two days, the king's forces beat a party of his from a pass near Bath, where the enemy lost two field-pieces, and near an hundred men. But sir William Waller had the advantage in his ground, having a good city, well furnished with provisions, to quarter his army together in; and so in his choice not to fight, but upon extraordinary advantage. Whereas the king's forces must either disperse themselves, and so give the enemy advantage upon their quarters, or, keeping near together, lodge in the field, and endure great distress of provision; the country being so disaffected, that only force could bring in any supply or relief. Hereupon, after several attempts to engage the enemy to a battle upon equal terms, which, having the advantage, he wisely avoided; the marquis and prince Maurice advanced with their whole body to Marsfield, five miles beyond Bath towards Oxford; presuming, that, by this means, they should draw the enemy from their place of advantage, their chief business being to hinder them from joining with the king. And if they had been able to preserve that temper, and had neglected the enemy, till they had quitted their advantages, it is probable they might have fought upon as good terms as they desired. But the unreasonable con-

tempt they had of the enemy, and confidence they should prevail in any ground, with the straits they endured for want of provisions, and their want of ammunition, which was spent as much in the daily hedge-skirmishes, and upon their guards, being so near as could have been in battle, would not admit that patience; for sir William Waller, who was not to suffer that body to join with the king, no sooner drew out his whole army to Lansdown, which looked towards Marsfield, but they suffered themselves to be engaged upon great disadvantage.

It was upon the fifth of July when sir William Waller, as soon as it was light, possessed himself of that hill; and after he had, upon the brow of the hill over the high way, raised breast-works with fagots and earth, and planted cannon there, he sent a strong party of horse towards Marsfield, which quickly alarmed the other army, and was shortly driven back to their body. As great a mind as the king's forces had to cope with the enemy, when they had drawn into battalia, and found the enemy fixed on the top of the hill, they resolved not to attack them upon so great disadvantage; and so retired again towards their old quarters: which sir William Waller perceiving, sent his whole body of horse and dragoons down the hill, to charge the rear and flank of the king's forces; which they did throughly, the regiment of cuirassiers so amazing the horse they charged, that they totally routed them; and, standing firm and unshaken themselves, gave so great terror to the king's horse, who had never before turned from an enemy, that no example of their officers, who did their parts with invincible courage, could make them charge with the

same confidence, and in the same manner they had usually done. However, in the end, after sir Nicholas Slanning, with three hundred musketeers, had fallen upon and beaten their reserve of dragooners, prince Maurice and the earl of Carnarvon, rallying their horse, and winging them with the Cornish musketeers, charged the enemy's horse again, and totally routed them; and in the same manner received two bodies more, and routed and chased them to the hill; where they stood in a place almost inaccessible. On the brow of the hill there were breast-works, on which were pretty bodies of small shot, and some cannon; on either flank grew a pretty thick wood towards the declining of the hill, in which strong parties of musketeers were placed; at the rear was a very fair plain, where the reserves of horse and foot stood ranged; yet the Cornish foot were so far from being appalled at this disadvantage, that they desired to fall on, and cried out, "that they might "have leave to fetch off those cannon." In the end, order was given to attempt the hill with horse and foot. Two strong parties of musketeers were sent into the woods, which flanked the enemy; and the horse and musketeers up the road way, which were charged by the enemy's horse, and routed; then sir Bevil Greenvil advanced with a party of horse, on his right hand, that ground being best for them; and his musketeers on the left; himself leading up his pikes in the middle; and in the face of their cannon, and small-shot from the breast-works, gained the brow of the hill, having sustained two full charges of the enemy's horse; but in the third charge his horse failing, and giving ground, he re-

ceived, after other wounds, a blow on the head with a pole axe, with which he fell, and many of his officers about him; yet the musketeers fired so fast upon the horse, that they quitted their ground, and the two wings, who were sent to clear the woods, having done their work, and gained those parts of the hill, at the same time they beat off their foot, and became possessed of the breast-works; and so made way for their whole body of horse, foot, and cannon, to ascend the hill; which they quickly did, and planted themselves on the ground they had won; the enemy retiring about demi-culverin shot behind a stone wall upon the same level, and standing in reasonable good order.

Either party was sufficiently tired, and battered, to be contented to stand still. The king's horse were so shaken, that of two thousand which were upon the field in the morning, there were not above six hundred on the top of the hill. The enemy was exceedingly scattered too, and had no mind to venture on plain ground with those who had beaten them from the hill; so that, exchanging only some shot from their ordnance, they looked one upon another till the night interposed. About twelve of the clock, it being very dark, the enemy made a show of moving towards the ground they had lost; but giving a smart volley of small-shot, and finding themselves answered with the like, they made no more noise: which the prince observing, he sent a common soldier to hearken as near the place, where they were, as he could; who brought word, "that "the enemy had left lighted matches in the wall "behind which they had lain, and were drawn off "the field;" which was true; so that, as soon as

it was day, the king's army found themselves possessed entirely of the field, and the dead, and all other ensigns of victory: sir William Waller being marched to Bath, in so much disorder and apprehension, that he left great store of arms, and ten barrels of powder, behind him; which was a very seasonable supply to the other side, who had spent in that day's service no less than fourscore barrels, and had not a safe proportion left.

In this battle, on the king's part, there were more officers and gentlemen of quality slain, than common men; and more hurt than slain. That which would have clouded any victory, and made the loss of others less spoken of, was the death of sir Bevil Greenvil; who was indeed an excellent person, whose activity, interest, and reputation, was the foundation of what had been done in Cornwall; and his temper and affections so public, that no accident which happened could make any impressions in him; and his example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at least seeming to do so. In a word, a brighter courage, and a gentler disposition, were never married together to make the most cheerful and innocent conversation.

Very many officers and persons of quality were hurt; as the lord Arundel of Wardour, shot in the thigh with a brace of pistol bullets; sir Ralph Hopton, shot through the arm with a musket; sir George Vaughan, and many others, hurt in the head of their troops with swords and poleaxes; of which none of name died. But the morning added much to the melancholy of their victory, when the field was entirely their own. For sir Ralph Hopton riding up and down the field to visit

the hurt men, and to put the soldiers in order, and readiness for motion, sitting on his horse, with other officers and soldiers about him, near a waggon of ammunition, in which were eight barrels of powder; whether by treachery, or mere accident, is uncertain, the powder was blown up; and many, who stood nearest, killed; and many more maimed; among [whom] sir Ralph Hopton and sergeant major Sheldon were miserably hurt; of which, major Sheldon, who was thought to be in less danger than the other, died the next day, to the general grief of the army, where he was wonderfully beloved, as a man of an undaunted courage, and as great gentleness of nature. Sir Ralph Hopton, having hardly so much life, as not to be numbered with the dead, was put into a litter, and then the army marched to their old quarters to Marsfield; exceedingly cast down with their morning's misfortune, (sir Ralph Hopton being indeed the soldiers' darling,) where they reposed themselves the next day, principally in care of sir Ralph Hopton, who, though there were hope of his recovery, was not fit to travel. In this time many of the horse, which had been routed in the morning, before the hill was won, found the way to Oxford; and, according to the custom of those who run away, reported all to be lost, with many particular accidents, which they fancied very like to happen when they left the field; but the next day brought a punctual advertisement from the marquis, but, withal, a desire of a regiment or two of fresh horse, and a supply of ammunition; whereupon the earl of Crawford with his regiment of horse, consisting of near five hundred, was directed to advance that

way, with such a proportion of ammunition as was desired.

After a day's rest at Marsfield, it being understood that sir William Waller was still at Bath, (his army having been rather surprised and discomforted with the incredible boldness of the Cornish foot, than much weakened by the number slain, which was not greater than on the king's part,) and that he had sent for fresh supply from Bristol; it was concluded, rather to march to Oxford, and so to join with the king's army, than to stay and attend the enemy, who was so near his supplies: and so they marched towards Chippenham. But when sir William Waller had intelligence of the blowing up of the powder, of which he well knew there was scarcely enough before, and of the hurt it had done, he infused new spirit into his men; and verily believed that they had no ammunition, and that the loss of sir Ralph Hopton (whom the people took to be the soul of that army, the other names being not so much spoken of, or so well known, and at this time believed to be dead) would be found in the spirits of the soldiers; and having gotten some fresh men from Bristol, and more from the inclinations of the three counties of Wilts, Gloucester, and Somerset, which joined about Bath, in the most absolute disaffected parts of all three, he followed the marquis towards Chippenham; to which he was as near from Bath, as the other from Marsfield.

The next day, early in the morning, upon notice that the enemy was in distance, the prince and the marquis drew back the army through Chippenham, and presented themselves in battalia to the enemy;

being very well contented to fight in such a place, where the success was to depend more on their foot, who were unquestionably excellent, than on their horse, which were at best weary, though their officers were, to envy, forward and resolute. But sir William Waller, who was a right good chooser of advantages, liked not that ground; relying as much upon his horse, who had gotten credit and courage, and as little upon his foot, who were only well armed, and well bodied, very vulgarly spirited, and officered: so that having stood all night in battalia, and the enemy not coming on, the prince and marquis, the next day, advanced towards the Devizes; sir Nicholas Slanning, with great spirit and prudence, securing the rear with strong parties of musketeers; with which he gave the enemy, who pressed upon them very smartly, so much interruption, that sir William Waller, despairing of overtaking, sent a trumpet to the marquis, with a letter, offering a pitched field at a place of his own choosing, out of the way. The which being easily understood to be only a stratagem to beget a delay in the march, the marquis carried the trumpet three or four miles with him, and then sent him back with such an answer as was fit. There were, all this day, perpetual and sharp skirmishes in the rear; the enemy pressing very hard, and being always with loss repulsed, till the army safely reached the Devizes.

Then the case was altered for their retreat to Oxford, the enemy being upon them with improvement of courage, and improvement of numbers; sir William Waller having dispersed his warrants over the country, signifying "that he had beaten

" the marquis," and requiring the people " to rise " in all places for the apprehension of his scattered " and dispersed troops;" which confidence, men conceived, could not proceed from less than a manifest victory; and so they flocked to him as the master of the field. The foot were no more now to make the retreat, the situation of the place they were now in, being such as they could move no way towards Oxford, but over a campaign of many miles, where the stronger in horse must needs prevail.

Hereupon, it was unanimously advised, and consented to, that the lord marquis and prince Maurice should that night break through, with all the horse, to Oxford; and that sir Ralph Hopton (who, by this, was supposed past danger of death, and could hear and speak well enough, though he could not see or stir) with the earl of Marlborough, who was general of the artillery, the lord Mohun, and other good officers of foot, should stay there with their foot and cannon, where it was hoped they might defend themselves, for a few days, till the general might return with relief from Oxford; which was not above thirty miles off. This resolution was pursued; and, the same night, all the horse got safe away into the king's quarters, and the prince and marquis, in the morning, came to Oxford; by which time sir William Waller had drawn all his forces about the Devizes. The town was open, without the least fortification or defence, but small ditches and hedges; upon which the foot were placed, and some pieces of cannon conveniently planted. The avenues, which were many, were quickly barricadoed to hinder the entrance of the

horse, which was principally apprehended. Sir William Waller had soon notice of the remove of the horse; and therefore, intending that pursuit no farther, he brought his whole force close to the town, and beleaguered it round; and having raised a battery upon a hill near the town, he poured in his shot upon it without intermission, and attempted to enter in several other places with horse, foot, and cannon; but was in all places more resolutely resisted, and repulsed. At the same time, having intelligence (as his intelligence was always most exact in whatsoever concerned him) of the earl of Crawford's marching with a supply of powder, according to order, after the first notice of the battle of Lansdown, he sent a strong party of horse and dragoons to intercept him; who, before he knew of the alterations which had happened, and of the remove of the horse towards Oxford, was so far engaged, that he hardly escaped with the loss of his ammunition, and a troop or two of his horse.

Upon this improvement of his success, sir William Waller reckoned his victory out of question; and thereupon sent a trumpet into the town to summon the besieged, to let them know, "that he "had cut off their relief, and that their state was "now desperate; and therefore advised them to "submit themselves to the parliament, with whom "he would mediate on their behalf." They in the town were not sorry for the overture; not that they apprehended it would produce any conditions they should accept, but that they might gain some time of rest by it: for the straits they were in were too great for any minds not prepared to preserve

their honour at any rates. When the enemy came first before the town, and the guards were supplied with ammunition for their duty, there was but one hundred and fifty weight of match left in the store; whereupon diligent officers were directed to search every house in the town, and to take all the bed-cords they could find, and to cause them to be speedily beaten, and boiled. By this sudden expedient, there was, by the next morning, provided fifteen hundred weight of such serviceable match, as very well endured that sharp service. Then the compass of the ground they were to keep was so large, and the enemy pressed so hard upon all places, that their whole body were upon perpetual duty together, neither officer or soldier having any time for rest; and the activity of the chief officers was most necessary to keep up the courage of the common men, who well enough understood the danger they were in, and therefore they were very glad of this message; and returned, "that they would "send an officer to treat, if a cessation were agreed "to during the time of the treaty;" which was consented to, if it were suddenly expedited.

On the party of the besieged were proposed such terms, as might take up most time in the debate, and might imply courage and resolution to hold out. Sir William Waller, on the other hand, offered only quarter, and civil usage to the officers, and leave to the common soldiers to return to their houses without their arms, except they would voluntarily choose to serve the parliament. These being terms many of the officers would not have submitted to in the latest extreme, the treaty ended; after those in the town had gained what

they only looked for, seven or eight hours' sleep, and so long time sparing of ammunition. The truth is, sir William Waller was so confident that they were at his mercy, that he had written to the parliament, "that their work was done, and "that, by the next post, he would send the number "and quality of his prisoners;" neither did he imagine it possible that any relief could have been sent from Oxford; the earl of Essex, to whom he had signified his success, and the posture he was in, lying with his whole army at Thame, within ten miles of it. But the importance was too well understood by the king to omit any thing, that might, with the utmost hazard, be attempted for the redeeming those men, who had wrought such wonders for him. And therefore, as soon as the marquis and prince arrived at Oxford, with the sad and unexpected news, and relation of the distress of their friends, though the queen was then on her march towards Oxford, and the king had appointed to meet her two days' journey for her security, his majesty resolved to take only his own guards of horse, and prince Rupert's regiment, for that expedition; and sent the lord Wilmot with all the rest of the horse, to march that very day, in which the advertisement came to him, towards the Devizes; so that the marquis and the prince coming to Oxford on the Monday morning, the lord Wilmot, that night, moved towards the work; and prince Maurice returning with him as a volunteer, but the lord Wilmot commanding in chief, appeared, on the Wednesday about noon, upon the plain within two miles of the town.

The lord Wilmot had with him fifteen hundred

horse, and no more, and two small field-pieces, which he shot off, to give the town notice of his coming; having it in his hopes, that, it being a fair campaign about the town, when the enemy should rise from before it, he should be able in spite of them to join with the foot, and so to have a fair field for it; which would be still disadvantageous enough, the enemy being superior by much in horse, very few of those who had broken away from the Devizes (except the prince himself, the earl of Carnarvon, and some other officers) being come up with them, partly because they were tired, and dispersed; and partly because it was not desired to have many of those who might have their old terror still upon them. The enemy, careful to prevent the joining of this party of horse with the foot, and fully advertised of their coming, drew off, on all parts, from the town; and put themselves in battalia upon the top of a fair hill, called Roundway-down; over which the king's forces were necessarily to march, being full two miles off the town: they within conceived it hardly possible, that the relief, they expected from Oxford, could so soon arrive; all the messengers, who were sent to give notice of it, having miscarried by the closeness of the siege; and therefore suspected the warning pieces from the plain, and the drawing off the town by the enemy, to be a stratagem to cozen the foot from those posts they defended, into the open field; and so, very reasonably, being in readiness to march, [they] waited a surer evidence, that their friends were at hand; which shortly arrived; and assured them, "that the prince was by, and ex-"pected them."

It will be easily conceived, with what alacrity they advanced; but sir William Waller had purposely chose that ground to hinder that conjunction, and advanced so fast on the lord Wilmot, that without such shifts and traverses, as might give his men some apprehension, he could not expect the foot from the town; and therefore he put his troops in order upon that ground to expect the enemy's charge, who were somewhat more than musket-shot off in order of battle.

Here sir William Waller, out of pure gayety, departed from an advantage he could not again recover; for being in excellent order of battle, with strong wings of horse to his foot, and a good reserve placed, and his cannon usefully planted, apprehending still the conjunction between the horse and the foot in the town, and gratifying his enemy with the same contempt, which had so often brought inconveniences upon them, and discerning their number inferior to that he had before (as he thought) mastered, he marched, with his whole body of horse, from his foot, to charge the enemy; appointing sir Arthur Haslerig with his cuirassiers apart, to make the first impression; who was encountered by sir John Byron, in whose regiment the earl of Carnarvon charged as a volunteer; and after a sharp conflict, in which sir Arthur Haslerig received many wounds, that impenetrable regiment was routed, and, in a full career, chased upon their other horse. And at the same time, the lord Wilmot charging them from division to division, as they were ranged, in half an hour, so sudden alterations the accidents of war introduce, the whole entire body of the triumphant horse were so

totally routed and dispersed, that there was not one of them to be seen upon that large spacious down; every man shifting for himself with greater danger by the precipices of that hill, than he could have undergone by opposing his pursuer. But as it was an unhappy ground to fly, so it was as ill for the pursuer; and after the rout, more perished by falls and bruises from their horses, down the precipices, than by the sword. The foot stood still firm, making shew of a gallant resistance; but the lord Wilmot quickly seized their cannon, and turned them upon them, at the same time that the Cornish foot, who were by this come from the town, were ready likewise to charge them; upon which their hearts failed; and so they were charged on all sides, and either killed, or taken prisoners, very few escaping; the Cornish retaining too fresh a memory of their late distresses, and revenging themselves of those who had contributed the least thereunto. Sir William Waller himself, with a small train, fled into Bristol, which had sacrificed a great part of their garrison in his defeat; and so were even ready to expire at his entry into the town, himself bringing the first news of his disaster.

This glorious day, for it was a day of triumph, redeemed the king's whole affairs, so that all clouds that shadowed them seemed to be dispelled, and a bright light of success to shine over the whole kingdom. There were in this battle slain, on the enemy's part, above six hundred on the place; nine hundred prisoners taken, besides two or three hundred retaken and redeemed, whom they had gathered up in the skirmishes and pursuit;

with all their cannon, being eight pieces of brass ordnance; all their arms, ammunition, waggons, baggage, and victual; eight and twenty foot ensigns, and nine cornets; and all this by a party of fifteen hundred horse, with two small field-pieces, (for the victory was perfect, upon the matter, before the Cornish came up; though the foot were suffered to stand in a body uncharged, out of ceremony, till they came; that they might be refreshed with a share in the conquest,) against a body of full two thousand horse, five hundred dragoons, and near three thousand foot, with an excellent train of artillery. So that the Cornish had great reason to think their deliverance, and victory at Roundway, more signal and wonderful than the other at Stratton, save that the first might be thought the parent of the latter, and the loss on the king's party was less; for in this there were slain very few; and, of name, none but Dudley Smith, an honest and valiant young gentleman; who was always a volunteer with the lord Wilmot, and among the first upon any action of danger.

Besides the present fruit of this victory, the king received an advantage from the jealousy, that, from thence, grew among the officers of the parliament armies. For sir William Waller believed himself to be absolutely betrayed, and sacrificed by the earl of Essex, out of envy at the great things he had done, which seemed to eclipse his glories; and complained, "that he, lying with his "whole army within ten miles of Oxford, should "suffer the whole strength of that place to march "thirty miles to destroy him, without so much as

" sending out a party to follow them, or to alarm " Oxford, by which they would have been probably " recalled." On the other hand, the earl, disdaining to be thought his rival, reproached the other with " unsoldierly neglects, and want of courage, " to be beaten by a handful of men, and to have " deserted his foot and cannon, without engaging " his own person in one charge against the enemy." Wherever the fault was, it was never forgiven; but, from the enmity that proceeded from thence, the king often afterwards reaped very notable and seasonable advantages; which will be remembered in their places.

This blessed defeat happened to be upon the same day, and upon the same time of the day, when the king met the queen upon the field near Keinton, under Edge-hill, where the battle had been fought in October before; and before their majesties came to Oxford, they received the happy news of it. It is easy to imagine the joy with which it was received, all men raising their fallen spirits to a height too proportionable, as though they should now go through all the work without farther opposition; and this transportation to either extremes was too natural upon all the vicissitudes of the war; and it was some allay to the welcome news of the victory to some men, that it had been obtained under the command and conduct of Wilmot; who was very much in prince Rupert's disesteem, and not in any notable degree of favour with the king, but much beloved in all the good fellowship of the army; which was too great a body. It was now time for the king's army, victorious in so many encounters, to take

the field; upon what enterprise, was the question. This overthrow of Waller had infinitely surprised, and increased the distractions at London. They had seen the copy of his warrants, which his vanity had caused to be dispersed, after the action at Lansdown; in which he declared, "that he had "routed the marquis's army, and was in pursuit of "them; and therefore commanded the justices of "peace, and constables, to give order for the "apprehension of them, as they fled dispersed;" and expected every day, that the marquis would be sent up prisoner: and now to hear that his whole invincible army was defeated, and himself fled, upon the matter, alone, (for ill news is for the most part made worse, as the best is reported to be better than it is,) brought them to their wits end; [so] that they could little advance the recruiting the earl of Essex's army; who in his person likewise grew more sullen towards them, and resented their little regard of him, and grew every day more conversant with the earls of Northumberland and Holland, and others who were most weary of the war, and would be glad of peace upon easy terms.

The king's army received a fair addition, by the conjuncture with those forces which attended the queen; for her majesty brought with her above two thousand foot, well armed, and one thousand horse, with six pieces of cannon, and two mortars, and about one hundred waggons. So that as soon as their majesties came to Oxford, the earl of Essex, who had spent his time about Thame and Aylesbury, without any action after that skirmish in which Mr. Hambden was slain, save by small

parties, of which there was none of name or note, but one handsome smart conflict between a party of five hundred horse and dragoons, commanded by colonel Middleton, a Scotchman, on the parliament party, and a regiment of horse, commanded by sir Charles Lucas, on the king's; where, after a very soldierly contest, and more blood drawn than was usual upon such actions, the king's party prevailed, returning with some prisoners of name, and the slaughter of one hundred of their enemy, not without some loss of their own: [the earl, I say,] retired with his army broken, and disheartened, to Uxbridge, giving over any thought of fighting with the king, till he should be recruited with horse, men, and money; and suffering no less in the talk of the people, (who began to assume a great freedom in discourse,) for not interposing to hinder the queen's march to Oxford, and joining with the king, than for sitting still so near Oxford, whilst the lord Wilmot went from thence to the ruin of sir William Waller.

After which defeat, the lord Wilmot retired to Oxford to attend his majesty; and the Cornish army (for that name it deservedly kept still, though it received so good an increase by the marquis and prince's joining with them) drew back, and possessed themselves of Bath, which was quitted, upon the overthrow of Waller; that garrison being withdrawn to reinforce Bristol. At Bath they rested, and refreshed themselves, till they might receive new orders from the king; who, upon full advice, and consideration of the state he was in, and the broken condition of the enemy, resolved to make an attempt upon the city of Bristol;

to which prince Rupert was most inclined, for being disappointed in a former design; and where there were many well affected to the king's service from the beginning, and more since the execution of those two eminent citizens. And the disesteem generally of the courage of Nathaniel Fiennes, the governor, made the design to be thought the more reasonable; and so the marquis and prince Maurice returned to Bath, upon agreement to appear, on such a day, with their whole strength, before Bristol, on the Somersetshire side, when prince Rupert with the Oxford forces would appear before it, on the Gloucestershire side.

On the four and twentieth of July, both armies sat down before it; quartering their horse in that manner, that none could go out or in to the city, without great hazard of being taken; and the same day, with the assistance of some seamen, who were prepared before, they seized all the ships that were in King-road; which were not only laden with things of great value, as plate, money, and the best sort of all commodities, which those who suspected the worst had sent aboard, but with many persons of quality; who, being unwilling to run the hazard of a siege, thought that way to have secured themselves, and to have escaped to London; and so were all taken prisoners. The next day, prince Rupert came to his brother, and the marquis, and a general council of all the principal officers of both armies being assembled, it was debated, "in what manner they should pro-"ceed, by assault or approach."

There were in the town five and twenty hundred

foot, and a regiment of horse and dragoons; the line about the town was finished; yet in some places the graff was wider and deeper than in others. The castle within the town was very well prepared, and supplied with great store of provisions to endure a siege. The opinions were several: the officers of the Cornish were of opinion, "that it was best to proceed by way of approach; "because, the ground being very good, it would "in a very short time be done; and since there "was no army of the enemy in a possibility to "relieve it, the securest way would be the best; "whereas the works were so good, that they must "expect to lose very many men; and, if they "were beaten off, all their summer hopes would "be destroyed; it not being easy, again to make "up the spirit of the army for a new action. Be-"sides, they alleged, the well affected party in "the city, which was believed to be very great, "would, after they had been closely besieged "three or four days, have a greater influence upon "the soldier, and be able to do more towards the "surrender, than they could upon a storm; when "they would be equally sensible of the disorder of "the soldier, and their own damage by plunder, as "the other; and the too late example of the exe-"cuted citizens would keep men from offering at "any insurrection in the city."

On the other hand, prince Rupert, and all the officers of his army, very earnestly desired to assault it; alleged "the work to be easy, and the "soldiers fitter for any brisk attempt, than a dull "patient design; and that the army would be "more weakened by the latter than the former:

" that the city, not having yet recovered the con-
" sternation of sir William Waller's defeat, was so
" full of horror, that it would make a very weak
" defence: that there was no soldier of experience
" in the town, and the governor himself not like
" to endure the terror of a storm: whereas, if they
" gave them time to consider, and to look long
" upon them with a wall between, they would grow
" confirmed and resolute, and courage would sup-
" ply the place of skill; and having plenty of all
" kinds of provisions within the town, they would
" grow strong and peremptory, whilst the besiegers
" grew less vigorous, and disheartened." These reasons, and the prince's importunity, with some insinuations of knowing more than was fit to be spoken, as if somewhat would be done within the town, that must not be mentioned, and a glorious contempt of danger, prevailed so far, that it was consented to, on all parts, to assault the town the next morning at three places on the Somersetshire side, and at three places on the Gloucestershire side, at the break of day. The truth is, both opinions, without any circumstances, were in themselves reasonable. For the Gloucestershire side, where prince Rupert was, might be stormed, the graff being shallow, and the wall, in some places, low and weak; which could not be easily approached, by reason the ground was rocky, and the redoubts high and very strong, which overlooked the ground; on the other side the ground was very easy to approach, and as inconvenient and dangerous to storm, by reason of a plain level before the line, and a broad and deep graff, and

the line throughout better flankered than the other.

The next morning, with no other provisions fit for such a work, but the courage of the assailants, both armies fell on. On the west side, where the Cornish were, they assaulted the line in three places; one division led by sir Nicholas Slanning, assisted with colonel John Trevannion, lieutenant colonel Slingsby, and three more field officers; too great a number of such officers to conduct so small a party as five hundred men, if there had not been an immoderate disdain of danger, and appetite of glory: another division, on the right hand, was led by colonel Buck, assisted by colonel Wagstaffe, colonel Bernard Ashley, who commanded the regiment of the lord marquis Hertford, with other officers of the field: and the third division, on the left hand, led by sir Thomas Basset, who was major general of the Cornish. These three divisions fell on together with that courage and resolution, as nothing but death could control; and though the middle division got into the graff, and so near filled it, that some mounted the wall, yet by the prodigious disadvantage of the ground, and the full defence the besieged made within, they were driven back with a great slaughter; the common soldiers, after their chief officers were killed, or desperately wounded, finding it a bootless attempt.

On prince Rupert's side, it was assaulted with equal courage, and almost equal loss, but with better success; for though that division, led on by the lord Grandison, colonel general of the foot, was beaten off, the lord Grandison himself being hurt;

and the other, led by colonel Bellasis, likewise had no better fortune; yet colonel Washington, with a less party, finding a place in the curtain (between the places assaulted by the other two) weaker than the rest, entered, and quickly made room for the horse to follow. The enemy, as soon as they saw the line entered in one place, either out of fear, or by command of their officers, quit their posts; so that the prince entered with his foot and horse into the suburbs; sending for one thousand of the Cornish foot, which were presently sent to second him; and marched up to Fromegate, losing many men, and some very good officers, by shot from the walls and windows; insomuch as all men were much cast down to see so little gotten with so great a loss; for they had a more difficult entrance into the town than they had yet passed, and where their horse could be of no use to them; when, to the exceeding comfort of generals and soldiers, the city beat a parley; which the prince willingly embracing, and getting their hostages into his hands, sent colonel Gerrard and another officer to the governor to treat. The treaty began about two of the clock in the afternoon, and, before ten at night, these articles were agreed on, and signed by all parties.

1. "That the governor, Nathaniel Fiennes, together with all the officers both of horse and foot, now within and about the city of Bristol, castle, and forts, may march out to-morrow morning by nine of the clock, with their full arms, bag and baggage, provided it be their own goods: and that the common foot soldiers march out without arms, and the troopers with

" their horses and swords, leaving their other " arms behind them, with a safe convoy to War- " minster; and after, not to be molested in their " march, by any of the king's forces, for the space " of three days.

2. " That there may be carriages allowed and " provided to carry away their bag and baggage, " and sick and hurt soldiers.

3. " That the king's forces march not into the " town, till the parliament forces are marched out; " which is to be at nine of the clock.

4. " That all prisoners in the city be delivered " up; and that captain Eyres and captain Cookein, " who were taken at the Devizes, be released.

5. " That sir John Horner, sir John Seymour, " Mr. Edward Stevens, and all other knights, " gentlemen, citizens, and other persons, that are " now in the city, may, if they please, with their " goods, wives, and families, bag and baggage, " have free liberty to return to their own homes, " or elsewhere, and there to rest in safety, or ride, " and travel with the governor and forces: and " such of them, and their families, as shall be left " behind, by reason of sickness or other cause, " may have liberty, so soon as they can conveni- " ently, to depart this town with safety; provided " that all gentlemen, and other persons, shall have " three days' liberty to reside here, or depart with " their goods, which they please.

6. " That all the inhabitants of the city shall be " secured in their persons, families, and estates, " free from plundering, and all other violence, or " wrong whatsoever.

7. " That the charters and liberties of this city

" may be preserved; and that the ancient govern-
" ment thereof, and present governors and officers,
" may remain and continue in their former con-
" dition, according to his majesty's charters and
" pleasure.

8. " That, for avoiding inconveniences and dis-
" tractions, the quartering of soldiers be referred
" or left to the mayor, and governor of the same
" city for the time being.

9. " That all such as have carried any goods
" into the castle may have free liberty to carry the
" same forth.

10. " That the forces, that are to march out,
" are to leave behind them all cannon, and ammu-
" nition, with their colours, and such arms as is
" before expressed."

The next morning, if not before, (for the truth is, from the time that the treaty was first offered, they in the town kept no guards, nor observed any order; but their soldiers run away to the prince, and many of his soldiers went into the town,) his highness was possessed of Bristol, the enemy then marching away. Here the ill example at Reading, in the breach of the articles, was remembered, and unhappily followed; for all that garrison was now here. So that they, with some colour of right, or retaliation, and the rest, by their example, used great license to the soldiers, who should have been safely conducted; which reflected much upon the prince, though he used his utmost power to suppress it; and charged colonel Fiennes to be accessary to his own wrong, by marching out of the town an hour before his appointment; and thereby his convoy was not ready; and at another

gate than was appointed and agreed on. And as the articles were thus unhappily violated to those who went away, so they were not enough observed to those who stayed, and to the city itself: for many of colonel Fiennes' soldiers taking conditions, and entering with the king's army, instructed their new friends, who were most disaffected; so that one whole street upon the bridge, the inhabitants whereof lay under some brand of malignity, though, no doubt, there were many honest men among them, was almost totally plundered; which, because there was but little justice done upon the transgressors, was believed to be done by connivance from the officers, and more discredited the king's forces, and his cause, than was then taken notice of, or discovered. It was a noble attribute given to the brave Fabricius, *qui aliquid esse crederet et in hostem nefas.* I wish I could excuse those swervings from justice and right, which were too frequently practised against contracts, under the notion, that they, with whom they were made, were rebels, and could not be too ill used; when, as the cause deserved, so it needed all the ingenuity and integrity, in the propugners of it, to keep despair from the guilty, who were by much too numerous for the innocent.

This reduction of Bristol was a full tide of prosperity to the king, and made him master of the second city of his kingdom, and gave him the undisturbed possession of one of the richest counties of the kingdom, (for the rebels had now no standing garrison, or the least visible influence upon any part of Somersetshire,) and rendered Wales (which was before well affected, except some towns in Pem-

brokeshire) more useful to him; being freed of the fear of Bristol, and consequently of the charge that always attends those fears; and restored to the trade with Bristol; which was the greatest support of those parts. Yet the king might very well have said, what king Pyrrhus heretofore did, after his second battle, by the city of Asculum, with the Romans, where he won the victory; "If "we win another at this price, we are utterly "undone." And truly his majesty's loss before this town was inestimable, and very hard to be repaired. I am persuaded there were slain, upon the several assaults, of common men, but such as were tried and incomparable foot, about five hundred; and abundance of excellent officers, whereof many were of prime command and quality.

On the Cornish side fell, besides major Kendall, and many other inferior officers, excellent in their degree, colonel Buck, a modest and a stout commander, and of good experience in war: who having got over the graff, and even to the top of the wall, was knocked down with a halbert, and perished in the graff; sir Nicholas Slanning, and colonel John Trevannion, the life and soul of the Cornish regiments, whose memories can never be enough celebrated; who being led by no impulsion, but of conscience, and their own observation of the ill practices and designs of the great conductors, (for they both were of the house of commons,) engaged themselves with the first in the opposition; and as soon as sir Ralph Hopton, and those other gentlemen came into Cornwall, joined with them; and being both of singular reputation, and good fortunes there, the one in possession,

the other in reversion after his father, they engaged their persons and estates in the service; rather doing great things, than affecting that it should be taken notice of to be done by them; applying themselves to all infirmities, and descending to all capacities, for removing all obstructions, which accidentally arose among those, who could only prosper by being of one mind. Sir Nicholas Slanning was governor of Pendennis castle, upon the credit and security whereof, the king's party in that country first depended, and, by the command it had of the harbour of Falmouth, was, or might be, supplied with all that was necessary. He was indeed a young man of admirable parts, a sharp and discerning wit, a staid and solid judgment, a gentle and most obliging behaviour, and a courage so clear and keen, as, even without the other ornaments, would have rendered him very considerable: they were both young, neither of them above eight and twenty, of entire friendship to one another, and to sir Bevil Greenvil, whose body was not yet buried; they were both hurt almost in the same minute, and in the same place; both shot in the thigh with musket bullets; their bones broken, the one dying presently, the other some few days after; and both had the royal sacrifice of their sovereign's very particular sorrow, and the concurrence of all good men's; and, that which is a greater solemnity to their memories, as it fares with most great and virtuous men, whose loss is better understood long afterwards, they were as often lamented, as the accidents in the public affairs made the courage and fidelity of the Cornish of greatest signification to the cause.

On the north side, of prince Rupert's army, fell very many good officers, the chief of whom was colonel Harry Lunsford, an officer of extraordinary sobriety, industry, and courage; by whom, his excellent lieutenant colonel Moyle was likewise hurt, and died within few days, both shot out of a window after they had entered the suburbs. There were hurt, the lord viscount Grandison, nephew to the great duke of Buckingham, who was colonel general of the king's foot; colonel John Bellasis, since lord Bellasis; colonel Bernard Ashley; colonel sir John Owen; and many other officers of name, of whom none of quality died of their wounds but the lord Grandison; whose loss can never be enough lamented. He was a young man of so virtuous a habit of mind, that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; so great a lover of justice and integrity, that no example, necessity, or even the barbarity of this war, could make him swerve from the most precise rules of it; and of that rare piety and devotion, that the court, or camp, could not shew a more faultless person, or to whose example young men might more reasonably conform themselves. His personal valour, and courage of all kinds, (for he had sometimes indulged so much to the corrupt opinion of honour, as to venture himself in duels,) was very eminent, insomuch as he was accused of being too prodigal of his person; his affection, and zeal, and obedience to the king, was such as became a branch of that family. And he was wont to say, "that if he had "not understanding enough to know the upright-"ness of the cause, nor loyalty enough to in-"form him of the duty of a subject, that the very

" obligations of gratitude to the king, on the be-
" half of his house, were such, as his life was but
" a due sacrifice:" and therefore, he no sooner saw the war unavoidable, than he engaged all his brethren, as well as himself, in the service; and there were then three more of them in command in the army, when he was so unfortunately cut off.

As soon as the news of the taking of Bristol came to the king at Oxford, after a solemn thanksgiving to God for the success, which was immediately and publicly performed, his majesty assembled his privy-council, to consider how this great blessing in war might be applied to the procuring a happy peace; and that this might be the last town he should purchase at the price of blood. It was evident, that, as this last victory added great lustre and beauty to the whole face of his affairs, so it would produce an equal paleness, and be an ominous presage to the parliament; where the jealousies and apprehensions between themselves still grew higher, and new remedies still proposed, which were generally thought worse than the disease.

Upon the news of the lord Fairfax's being defeated in the north, they resolved presently to send a committee of the two houses into Scotland, "to desire their brethren of that kingdom " presently to advance with an army for their " relief;" which was thought so desperate a cure, that the lords naming the earl of Rutland, and lord Grey of Warke, for that embassy, the earl upon indisposition of health procured a release; and the other, who had never declined

any employment they would confer on him, so peremptorily refused to meddle in it, that he was committed to the Tower; and, in the end, they were compelled to depute only commoners to that service: and so sir William Armyne, young sir Henry Vane, and two more, assisted with Mr. Marshall and Mr. Nye, two of their powerful clergy, were embarked in that negociation; upon which, they who sent them were so far from being confident, and so little satisfied, that they should be driven to bring in foreign forces, with the purpose whereof they had so long traduced the king, that there was, some few desperate persons only excepted, even a universal desire of peace; and the earl of Essex himself, writing to the speaker of the house of commons, of the defects in his army, and of his wants of horse, men, and money, advised, "that they would "think of sending some reasonable propositions "to the king, for the procuring a safe peace;" which being the first intimation he had ever given to that purpose, together with his familiarity and correspondence with those lords, who were known passionately to desire an accommodation, gave them sad apprehensions; which were increased by some severe messages they received from him, for his vindication from the foul aspersions and calumnies, which were generally and publicly laid on him, for his unactivity after the winning Reading, whilst the queen marched securely to Oxford, and sir William Waller was destroyed; as if "he would think of some way of "righting himself, if they were not sensible on his "behalf."

How to work upon these discomposed humours, and to reduce them to such temper, that they might consent to the kingdom's peace, was the argument of the king's consultations: but by what expedient to promote this, was the difficulty. After the breach of the last treaty, and when the king had in vain laboured to revive it, and could not procure any answer from them to his last messages; but instead thereof his messenger imprisoned, tried before a council of war for his life, and still in custody, and a declaration, "that whosoever should "be employed by his majesty, on any mes-"sage to them, without their leave, should be "proceeded against as a spy," (so that though they pretended to be his great council, they upon the matter now protested against any relation to his majesty,) he advised with his council, "what might be fit for him to do, to lessen "the reverence and reputation of them with the "people:" for the superstition towards the name of a parliament was so general, that the king had wisely forborne to charge the two houses with the treason and rebellion that was raised, but imputed it to particular persons, who were most visibly and actually engaged in it. Some were of opinion, "that all the members who stayed there, "and sat in either house, being guilty of so many "treasonable acts, thereby the parliament was ac-"tually dissolved, by the same reason as a corpo-"ration, by great misdemeanour and crime, might "forfeit their charter; and therefore that the king "should, by his proclamation, declare the dissolu-"tion of it, and then consider whether it were fit "to call another." But this opinion was generally

disliked, both "because it was conceived not to be "just; for the treason of those who were present "could not forfeit the right of those who were "away; neither was it evident, that all present "consented to the ill that was done; and the "king's declaring a parliament to be dissolved, "contrary to an act of parliament, was believed, "would prove an act so ungracious to the people, "for the consequences of it, that the king would "be an exceeding loser by such an attempt; and "that many, in such a case, would return thither, "who out of conscience had withdrawn from that "assembly."

In conclusion, the advice was unanimous, "that "his majesty should declare the orders and pro-"ceedings of one or both houses to be void, by "reason the members did not enjoy the freedom "and liberty of parliament; and therefore require "his good subjects no longer to be misled by "them:" and, to that purpose, the king had issued his proclamation six weeks before this happy turn in his affairs, so that he could not now send a message to them, as to two houses of parliament, lest he might seem to retract his former judgment of them, which was concluded to be both regular and just. Upon the whole matter, lest his majesty might be understood to be so much elated with his good successes, and the increase of his strength, that he aimed at no less than a perfect victory, and the ruin of those who had incensed him, (by which insinuations they, who could not forgive themselves, endeavoured to make all others desperate,) he was resolved to publish such a declaration to the whole kingdom, that both houses, and [their] army, could

not but take notice of, and might, if they were inclined to it, thence take a rise to make any overtures to him towards an atonement. And to that purpose, the next day after he received the assurance of the taking of Bristol, his majesty published this ensuing declaration; which being short, I shall enter in his own words.

His majesty's declaration to all his loving subjects, after his victories over the lord Fairfax in the north, sir William Waller in the west, and the taking of Bristol by his majesty's forces.

"As the grievances and losses of no particular "persons, since these miserable bloody distempers "have disquieted this poor kingdom, can be com- "pared to the loss and damage we ourself have "sustained, there having been no victory obtained "but in the blood of our own subjects, nor no ra- "pine or violence committed, but to the impove- "rishment and ruin of our own people; so, a "blessed and happy peace cannot be so acceptable "and welcome to any man, as to us. Almighty "God, to whom all the secrets of our heart are "open, who hath so often and so miraculously "preserved us, and to whose power alone we must "attribute the goodness of our present condition, "(how unhappy soever it is with reference to the "public calamities,) knows, with what unwilling- "ness, with what anguish of soul, we submitted "ourself to the necessity of taking up defensive "arms. And the world knows with what justice "and bounty we have repaired our subjects, for all "the pressures and inconveniences they had borne,

" by such excellent laws, as would for ever have " prevented the like; and with what earnestness " and importunity we desired to add any thing, for " the establishment of the religion, laws, and " liberty of the kingdom. How all these have " been disturbed, invaded, and almost destroyed, " by faction, sedition, and treason, by those, who " have neither reverence to God, nor affection to " men, but have sacrificed both to their own ends " and ambition, is now so evident, that we hope, as " God hath wonderfully manifested his care of us, " and his defence of his and our most just cause; so " he hath so far touched the hearts of our people, " that their eyes are at last opened to see how mi- " serably they have been seduced, and to abhor " those persons, whose malice and subtlety had " seduced them to dishonour him, to rebel against " us, and to bring much misery and calamity upon " their native country.

" We well remember the protestation voluntarily " made by us, in the head of that small army we " were master of in September last, to defend and " maintain the true reformed protestant religion: " and if it should please God, by his blessing upon " that army, to preserve us from this rebellion, that " we would maintain the just privileges and free- " dom of parliament, and govern by the known " laws of the land; for whose defence, in truth, " that army was only raised, and hath been since " kept. And there cannot be a more seasonable " time to renew that protestation than now, when " God hath vouchsafed us so many victories and " successes, and hath rendered the power of those, " who seek to destroy us, less formidable than it

" hath been, (so that we shall probably not fall " under the scandalous imputation, which hath " usually attended our messages of peace, that " they proceed from the weakness of our power, " not love of our people,) and when there is more " freedom in many counties, for our good subjects " to receive true information of their own and our " condition; the knowledge whereof hath been, " with equal industry and injustice, kept from " them, as other acts of cruelty have been im- " posed on them.

" We do therefore declare to all the world, in " the presence of Almighty God, to whom we must " give a strict account of all our professions and " protestations, that we are so far from intending " any alteration of the religion established, (as hath " been often falsely, scandalously, and against the " conscience of the contrivers themselves of that " rumour, suggested to our people,) or from the " least thought of invading the liberty and property " of the subject, or violating the just privileges of " parliament, that we call that God to witness, *who* " *hath covered our head in the day of battle*, that we " desire from our soul, and shall always use our " utmost endeavour, to preserve and advance the " true reformed protestant religion, established in " the church of England; in which we were born, " have faithfully lived, and, by the grace of God, " shall resolutely die: that the preservation of the " liberty and property of the subject, in the due " observation of the known laws of the land, shall " be equally our care, as the maintenance of our " own rights; we desiring to govern only by those " good laws, which, till they were oppressed by

" this odious rebellion, preserved this nation happy.
" And we do acknowledge the just privileges of
" parliament to be an essential part of those laws,
" and shall therefore most solemnly defend and
" observe them. So that, in truth, if either reli-
" gion, law, or liberty, be precious to our people,
" they will, by their submission to us, join with us
" in the defence of them; and thereby establish
" that peace, by which only they can flourish, and
" be enjoyed.

" Whether these men, that be professed enemies
" to the established ecclesiastical government, who
" reproach and persecute the learned orthodox mi-
" nisters of the church, and into their places put
" ignorant, seditious, and schismatical preach-
" ers, who vilify the Book of Common Prayer, and
" impiously profane God's worship with their scur-
" rilous and seditious demeanour, are like to ad-
" vance that religion; whether those men, who
" boldly, and without the least shadow or colour of
" law, impose insupportable taxes and odious ex-
" cises upon their fellow subjects, imprison, tor-
" ment, and murder them, are like to preserve the
" liberty and property of the subject: and whether
" those men, who seize and possess themselves of
" our own unquestionable revenue, and our just
" rights, have denied us our negative voice, have,
" by force and violence, awed and terrified the
" members of both houses, and lastly have, as far
" as in them lies, dissolved the present parliament,
" by driving away and imprisoning the members,
" and resolving the whole power thereof, and more,
" into a committee of a few men, contrary to all
" law, custom, or precedent, are like to vindicate

" and uphold the privileges of parliament, all the " world may judge.

" We do therefore once more conjure our good " subjects, by their memory of that excellent peace " and firm happiness, with which it pleased God to " reward their duty and loyalty in time past; by " their oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which " no vow or covenant, contrived and administered " to and by themselves, can cancel or evade; by " whatsoever is dear and precious to them in this " life, or hoped or prayed for in the life to come, " that they will remember their duty, and consider " their interest, and no longer suffer themselves to " be misled, their prince dishonoured, and their " country wasted and undone by the malice and " cunning of those state impostors; who, under " pretence of reformation, would introduce what- " soever is monstrous and unnatural both to reli- " gion and policy: but that they rather choose " quietly to enjoy their religion, property, and " liberty, founded and provided for by the wisdom " and industry of former times, and secured and " enlarged by the blessings upon the present age, " than to spend their lives and fortunes to purchase " confusion, and to make themselves liable to the " most intolerable kind of slavery, that is, to be " slaves to their fellow subjects; who, by their " prodigious, unheard of acts of oppression and " tyranny, have given them sufficient evidence what " they are to expect at their hands.

" And let not our good people, who have been " misled, or, through want of understanding, or " want of courage, submitted themselves to un- " warrantable and disloyal actions, be taught, by

" these seducers, that their safety now consists in " despair; and that they can only secure them- " selves for the ills they have done, by a resolute " and peremptory disobedience. Revenge and " blood-thirstiness have never been imputed to us, " by those, who have left neither our government, " or nature, unexamined, with the greatest bold- " ness and malice. And all those who, since those " bloody distractions, out of conscience have re- " turned from their evil ways to us, have found, " that it was not so easy for them to repent, as for " us to forgive. And whosoever have been misled " by those whose hearts from the beginning have " designed all this mischief, and shall redeem their " past crimes by their present service and loyalty, " in the apprehending or opposing such who shall " continue to bear arms against us, and shall use " their utmost endeavours to reduce those men to " their due obedience, and to restore this kingdom " to its wonted peace shall have cause to magnify " our mercy, and to repent the trespasses committed " against so just and gracious a sovereign. Lastly, " we desire all our good subjects who have really " assisted, or really wished us well, now God hath " done such wonderful things for us, vigorously to " endeavour to put an end to all these miseries, " by bringing in men, money, plate, horses, or " arms, to our aid; that so we being not wanting " to ourselves, may with confidence expect the " continuance of God's favour, to restore us all to " that blessed harmony of affections, which may " establish a firm peace; without the speedy " obtaining of which, this poor kingdom will be " utterly undone, though not absolutely lost."

What effect this proclamation produced, at least what accident fell out shortly after the publishing it, we shall have occasion anon to remember, when we have first remembered some unfortunate passages, which accompanied this prosperity on the king's part; for the sunshine of his conquest was somewhat clouded, not only by the number and quality of the slain, but by the jealousies and misunderstandings of those who were alive. There was not, from the beginning, that conformity of humour and inclinations between the princes and the marquis of Hertford, as had been to be wished between all persons of honour, who were engaged in a quarrel that could never prosper but by the union of the undertakers. Prince Maurice, and, on his behalf, (or rather the other by his impulsion,) prince Rupert, taking to heart, that a nephew of the king's should be lieutenant general to the marquis, who had neither been exercised in the profession of a soldier, nor even now punctually studied the office of a general: on the other hand, the marquis, who was of the most gentle nature to the gentle, and as rough and resolute to the imperious, it may be liked not the prince's assuming to himself more than became a lieutenant general, and sometimes crossing acts of his with relation to the governing and disposing the affairs of the country, in which he knew himself better versed than the prince; and when Bristol was taken, where the marquis took himself to command in chief, being a town particularly within his commission, and of which he was besides lord lieutenant, he thought himself not regardfully enough used, that prince Rupert had not only entered into the treaty without

his advice, but concluded the articles without so much as naming him, or taking notice that he was there. And therefore with as little ceremony to his highness, or so much as communicating it to either of the princes, the marquis declared that he would give the government of that city to sir Ralph Hopton. Prince Rupert on the other hand conceived the town won by him, being entered on that side in which he commanded absolutely, and the Cornish on the other part absolutely repulsed; and therefore that the disposition of the command and government of it wholly belonged to him. But when he heard the resolution of the marquis concerning sir Ralph Hopton, who was not to be put into the scale with any private man, he gave over the design of conferring it upon any of the pretenders; and by the same messenger, by whom he advertised his majesty of the good success, he desired, "that he would bestow the government of that "city, reduced by him, upon himself;" the which the king readily consented to, not suspecting any dispute to be about it. And shortly after an express arrived likewise from the marquis, with an account of all particulars, and that his lordship had designed sir Ralph Hopton to be governor of the new-got city.

Then, and not before, the king understood what strait he was in; and was exceedingly perplexed to find an expedient to compose the difference that he saw would arise. He had passed his word to his nephew, of whom he was very tender, and did in truth believe that his title to dispose the government was very just: so he had a very just esteem of the marquis, who had served him with all fide-

lity, and who clearly declared himself for him, when the doing otherwise would have been most prejudicial to his majesty: and, it could not be denied, no subject's affection and loyalty gave a greater lustre to the king's cause, than that of the marquis; and that which was a circumstance of infinite moment, was the nominating sir Ralph Hopton; who as he was a person of high merit from the king, so he was the most gracious and popular to that city, and the country adjacent; and after so great service, and suffering in the service, to expose him to a refusal, was both against the kindness and goodness of the king's nature, and his politic foresight into his affairs. And as a presage how various the interpretation would be abroad, of whatsoever he should determine, he found the minds and affections of his own court and council, with more passion than ordinary, ready to deliver their opinions. The marquis was generally loved, and where he was not enough known to be so, his interest and reputation in the kingdom was thought of wonderful consideration in the king's business: and many were very much troubled to see prince Rupert, whose activity and courage in the field they thought very instrumental, incline to get the possession of the second city of the kingdom into his hands, or to engage himself so much in the civil government, as such a command soberly executed must necessarily comprehend: and this as it were in contempt of one of the prime noblemen of the kingdom, to which order the prince had not expressed himself very debonair. And these thought "the king was, by counsel and precept, to reform "and soften the prince's understanding and hu-

" mour; and to persuade him, in compliance with " his service, to decline the contest, and suffer the " marquis to proceed in his disposition, which, on " all parts, was acknowledged to be most fitly de- " signed."

Others again were of opinion, " that the right " of disposing the command to whomsoever he " thought fit, entirely belonged to prince Rupert; " and therefore (besides that the king had, by the " same messenger who brought the suit, returned " his consent) that he could not be reasonably " refused, when he desired it for himself; which " would take away all possible imagination of disre- " spect from sir Ralph Hopton, who could not take " it ill, that the prince himself had taken a com- " mand, that was designed to him: that the eyes " of the army were upon his highness, whose name " was grown a terror to the enemy, as his courage " and conduct had been very prosperous to the " king; and if, after so happy and glorious an " achievement, he should now receive a repulse in " so reasonable a pretence, though it would not " lessen his own duty or alacrity in the service, it " might have an unhappy influence upon his repu- " tation and interest in the army; which could " receive no diminution without apparent damage " to his majesty: and therefore, that some means " should be used to the marquis, to wave his title, " and to consent that the prince should enjoy his " desires:" so that they who were only fit to be employed to persuade and alter either, seemed, and indeed were, passionately engaged against the thing they were to persuade. So that the king discerned that all depended upon his own royal

wisdom; and therefore resolved to take a journey in his own person to Bristol, and there to give such a rule as he should find most necessary; to which, he presumed, both persons would conform themselves, as well cordially, as obediently.

That which the king proposed to himself was, to gratify his nephew with the name, and the marquis, by making sir Ralph Hopton enjoy the thing; upon obliging whom the king's care was very particular. For though he knew his nature, as in truth it was, most exactly free from interrupting the least public service by private ends or thoughts, other men would be apt to conceive and publish a disrespect to be done to him, which himself apprehended not; and therefore that he was not only, in his own princely mind, to retain a very gracious sense of his service, but to give evidence to all men, that he did so. And so after he had made a joyful entrance into Bristol, which was performed with all decent solemnity, and used all kind and obliging expressions to the marquis, and in private desired him to consent, that he might perform his promise to his nephew, which he had passed before he had any imagination that his lordship otherwise had determined of it; without speaking at all of any other title he had to it, but by his majesty's promise; he established prince Rupert in the government of Bristol, who immediately sent a commission to sir Ralph Hopton, (who was now so well recovered, that he walked into the air,) to be his lieutenant governor; signifying likewise to him, by a confidant who passed between them, "that though he was now engaged "for some time, which should not be long, to keep

" the superior title himself, he would not at all " meddle in the government, but that he should be " as absolute in it, as if the original commission " had been granted to him."

Sir Ralph Hopton, who was exceedingly sorry that his name was at all used, and exposed, as an argument of difference and misunderstanding between persons of such eminent influence upon the public, quickly discerned that this expedient, though it seemed plausibly to lessen the noise of the debate, did in truth object him to the full envy of one party. For the marquis (who by the king's persuasions was rather quieted than satisfied) might, and he foresaw would, be persuaded to expect that he would refuse the commission from prince Rupert, both, as he might be thought to comply in an injury done to the marquis, to whom his devotion had been ancient, fast, and unshaken, and as the command now given him was inferior to what the marquis, who had the power of disposal, had conferred on him; and so that he should vindicate the title, which the king himself was loath to give a judgment upon. And he was the more troubled, because he found that, by submitting to this charge, he should by some be thought to have deserted the marquis out of a kind of revenge for his having deserted the enterprise, when he chose, the last year, rather to go into Wales than Cornwall, and deserting him again now, when he brought all new officers to command the army over their heads who had raised it, and made the way for the new to come to them. Whereas the first, as is before remembered, was done by his own advice, as well as his full consent; and the

latter, he well knew, was rather to be imputed to prince Maurice than to his lordship, whose kindness and esteem had been ever very real to him. On the other hand, he saw plainly, that if he refused to receive this commission, with what specious circumstances of duty and submission soever, it might produce, (as without doubt unavoidably it would) notable disturbances and interruptions in the king's affairs; and that the marquis, to common understandings, had, to obey the king, declined the contestation, and therefore that the reviving it, and the mischief that attended it, would be imputed to his particular account. Besides that, he had always borne an avowed and declared reverence to the queen of Bohemia and her children, whom he had personally and actively served in their wars, whilst they maintained any, and for whose honour and restitution he had been a zealous and known champion. And therefore he had no inclination to disoblige a hopeful prince of that house, upon whom our own hopes seemed so much to depend. So that he resolved, according to his rare temper throughout this war, to let him whom he professed to serve, choose in what kind he would be served by him; and cheerfully received the commission from prince Rupert; upon which, all discourse, or debate of difference, was for the present determined, what whisperings or murmurings soever remained.

The king found it now high time to resolve, to what action next to dispose his armies, and that their lying still so long there (for these agitations had kept the main work from going forward ten or twelve days, a time in that season unfortunately

lost) had more weakened, than refreshed them; having not lost more men by storming the city, than afterwards by plundering it: those soldiers, who had warmed themselves with the burden of pillage, never quietly again submitting to the carriage of their arms.

The question was first, "whether both armies "should be united, and march in one upon the "next design?" And then, "what that design "should be?" Against the first, there were many allegations.

1. "The condition of the west: Dorsetshire "and Devonshire were entirely possessed by the "enemy; for though sir John Berkley with a "daring party kept Exeter, and colonel John "Digby the north part (which was notoriously "disaffected) from joining with Plymouth, which "would else quickly have grown into an army "strong enough to infest Cornwall, yet they had "no place to retire to upon distress; and all the "ports upon the western coasts were garrisoned "by them, which, upon the fame of the approach "of the king's forces, and the loss of Bristol, "might probably be, without much resistance, "reduced.

2. "The Cornish army was greater in reputa-"tion, than numbers; having lost many at Lans-"down, and the assault of Bristol, and, by the "death of their chief officers, very many were run "away since; besides they pretended some pro-"mise made to their country (which they con-"ceived not to be enough secured against Ply-"mouth) of returning speedily for the reduction of

" that town; so that if they were compelled to " march eastwards, to which they were not in- " clined, it was to be doubted they would moulder " away so fast, that there would be little addition " of strength by it. Whereas if they marched " westward, it would be no hard matter to gather " up those who were returned, and to be strong " enough in a very short time, by new levies, for " any enterprise should be thought reasonable to be " undertaken." To which was added, " that hav- " ing lost those officers, whom they loved and " feared, and whose reverence restrained their " natural distempers, they were too much inclined " to mutiny; and had expressed a peremptory " aversion to the joining, and marching with the " king's army." And the truth is, their humours were not very gentle and agreeable, and apt to think that their prowess was not enough recompensed, or valued. For though the king affected to make all possible demonstrations to them, of an extraordinary high esteem he had of their wonderful fidelity and courage, yet he was able to procure very little money for them; and they had then, by the discipline under which they had been trained, (which was most regular, and full of that sobriety which promised good fortune,) an honest pride in their own natures, a great disdain of plundering, or supplying themselves by those vile arts, which they grew afterwards less tender to avoid.

3. " The great number of the king's horse; " which was so glorious a body, that when that " part of it which was joined to the Cornish was " away, he should march with at least six thou-

" sand horse, which were as many as would be " able to live on any country within a due distance " of quartering.

4. " Lastly, some correspondence with the chief " gentlemen of Dorsetshire, who were ready to " join with any considerable party for the king, " and had some probable hopes, that the small " garrisons upon the coast would not make a " tedious resistance."

There was another reason, which was not given, that if both armies had been kneaded into one, prince Maurice could have been but a private colonel: but there were enough besides to satisfy the king to keep them divided; and so he gave order to the earl of Carnarvon to advance towards Dorchester (the chief town in that county, and the most malignant in England, where the rebels had a garrison) with the horse and dragoons, and the next day to prince Maurice to march after with the foot and cannon; his majesty keeping with him the marquis of Hertford to attend his own person; for though he well saw, he should undergo some inconveniences by withdrawing the marquis from that employment, the opinion of the soundness of his religion, and integrity of his justice, rendering him by much the most popular man in those parts, and was exceedingly tender of giving the least umbrage and distaste to his lordship, upon whose honour and affection he relied entirely, and would as soon have trusted his crown upon his fidelity, as upon any man's in his three kingdoms, yet he discerned plainly that the prince and the marquis would never agree together; and that there were persons about them, who would foment their indis-

positions to each other, with any hazard to his service; and concluded, that he should sooner reduce his people by the power of his army, than by the persuasions of his counsel; and that the roughness of the one's nature might prevail more than the lenity and condescension of the other: and therefore he sent the prince on that employment; using all imaginable means to remove any trouble, or jealousy of his favour from the marquis's mind; his majesty freely and clearly communicating to him all his counsels, and the true grounds of his resolution; and declaring to him, "that he would make him a gentleman of his "bedchamber, and groom of his stole, and that he "would always have his company and advice "about him;" with which the marquis was satisfied, rather because he resolved not to disobey him, than that he was well pleased with the price of the obligations.

And truly many wise and honest men were sorry for the king's election; and though the marquis's years, and a long indulgence to his ease, had superinduced a kind of laziness and inactivity upon his nature, that was neither agreeable to his primitive constitution, nor the great endowments of his mind, (for he was a good scholar, and had a good judgment,) and less to the temper of this time, and the office of a general, insomuch as he often resigned an excellent understanding to those who had a very indifferent one, and followed the advice, and concluded upon the information of those, who had narrower and more vulgar thoughts than suited with his honour, and were not worthy of such a trust; yet they thought the prince's inexperience

of the customs and manners of England, and an aversion from considering them, must subject him to the information and advice of worse counsellors than the other, and which would not be so easily controlled: and I am of opinion, that if the prince had waited on his majesty in that army, and never interposed in any command, not purely martial, and the marquis been sent with those forces into the west with the lord Hopton, (who was now to be left at Bristol to intend his health, and to form that new garrison; which was to be a magazine for men, arms, ammunition, and all that was wanted,) and some other steady persons, who might have been assigned to special provinces, a greater tide of good fortune had attended that expedition.

The next resolution to be taken, was concerning the king's own motion with that army. There was not a man, who did not think the reducing of Gloucester, a city within little more than twenty miles of Bristol, of mighty importance to the king, if it might be done without a great expense of time, and loss of men: "It was the only garrison "the rebels had between Bristol and Lancashire, "on the north part of England; and if it could be "recovered, his majesty would have the river of "Severn entirely within his command; whereby "his garrisons of Worcester, and Shrewsbury, and "all those parts, might be supplied from Bristol; "and the trade of that city thereby so advanced, "that the customs and duties might bring a not-"able revenue to the king, and the wealth of the "city increasing, it might bear the greater burden "for the war: a rich and populous county, which

" hitherto rather yielded conveniences of quarter, " than a settled contribution, (that strong garrison " holding not only the whole forest division, which " is a fourth part of the county of Gloucester, ab- " solutely in obedience, but so alarmed all other " parts, that none of the gentry, who for the most " part were well affected, durst stay at their own " houses,) might be wholly the king's quarters; " and by how much it had offended and disquieted " the king, more than other counties, by so much " the more money might be raised upon them." Besides the general weekly contributions, the yeomanry, who had been most forward and seditious, being very wealthy, and able to redeem their delinquency at a high price, (and these arguments were fully pressed by the well affected gentry of the county, who had carried themselves honestly, and suffered very much by doing so, and undertook great levies of men, if this work were first done,) there was another argument of no less, if not greater, moment than all the rest: " if Gloucester " were reduced, there would need no forces to be " left in Wales, and all those soldiers might be then " drawn to the marching army, and the contribu- " tions and other taxes assigned to the payment of " it." Indeed the king would have had a glorious and entire part of his kingdom, to have contended with the rest.

Yet all these motives were not thought worth the engaging his army in a doubtful siege; whilst the parliament might both recover the fear that was upon them, and consequently allay and compose the distempers, (which, if they did not wholly proceed from, were very much strengthened by,

those fears,) and recruit their army; and therefore that it was better to march into some of those counties which were most oppressed by the enemy, and there wait such advantage, as the distraction in and about London would administer, except there could be some probable hope that Gloucester might be got without much delay. And to that purpose there had been secret agitation, the effect whereof was hourly expected. The governor of that garrison was one colonel Massy, a soldier of fortune, who had, in the late northern expeditions prepared by the king against Scotland, been an officer in the king's army, under the command of [colonel] William Leg; and, in the beginning of these troubles, had been at York with inclination to serve the king; but finding himself not enough known there, and that there would be little gotten, but the comfort of a good conscience, he went to London, where there was more money, and fewer officers; and was easily made lieutenant colonel to the earl of Stamford; and being quickly found to be a diligent and stout officer, and of no ill parts of conversation to render himself acceptable among the common people, was by his lordship, when he went into the west, left governor of that city [of Gloucester], where he had behaved himself actively and successfully. There was no reason to despair, that this man (not intoxicated with any of those fumes which made men rave, and frantic in the cause) might not be wrought upon. And Will. Leg, who had the good opinion of most men, and the particular kindness of prince Rupert, had sent a messenger, who was like to pass without suspicion to Gloucester, with such a letter of kindness and

overture to Massy, as was proper in such a case from one friend to another. This messenger returned when the king's and the army's motion was under debate, and brought an answer from the governor, in a very high style, and seeming to take it much unkindly, "that he should endeavour "to corrupt him in his honesty and fidelity, and to "persuade him to break a trust, which, to save his "life, he would never do;" with much discourse "of his honour and reputation, which would be "always dear to him." But the messenger said withal, "that, after the governor had given him "this letter, and some sharp reproaches before "company, he was brought again, a back way, to "a place where he was by himself; and then he "told him, that it was most necessary he should "write such an answer as he had done; which was "communicated to those, who else would have "been jealous what such a messenger should come "to him about; but that he should tell Will. Leg, "that he was the same man he had ever been, his "servant; and that he wished the king well; that "he heard prince Rupert meant to bring the army "before that town; if he did, he would defend it "as well as he could; and his highness would find "another work than he had at Bristol; but if the "king himself came with his army, and summoned "it, he would not hold it against him: for it would "not stand with his conscience to fight against the "person of the king; besides that in such a case, "he should be able to persuade those of the town; "which otherwise he could not do."

This message turned the scale; for though it might be without purpose of being honest, yet

there was no great objection against the king's marching that way with his army; since it would be still in his power to pursue any other counsel, without engaging before it. And it was to some a sign that he meant well, because he had not hanged, or at least imprisoned, the messenger who came to him on such an errand. Hereupon the king resolved for Gloucester, but not to be engaged in a siege; and so sent his army that way; and the next day (having first sent sir Ralph Hopton a warrant to create him baron Hopton of Stratton, in memory of the happy battle fought there) with the remainder of his forces marched towards it. On Wednesday the tenth of August, the king ranged his whole army upon a fair hill, in the clear view of the city, and within less than two miles of it; and then, being about two of the clock in the afternoon, he sent a trumpet with this summons to the town.

"Out of our tender compassion to our city of "Gloucester, and that it may not receive prejudice "by our army, which we cannot prevent if we be "compelled to assault it, we are personally come "before it to require the same; and are graciously "pleased to let all the inhabitants of, and all other "persons within that city, as well soldiers as others, "know, that if they shall immediately submit "themselves, and deliver this our city to us, we "are contented, freely and absolutely to pardon "every one of them, without exception; and do "assure them, in the word of a king, that they, "nor any of them shall receive the least damage "or prejudice by our army in their persons or "estates; but that we will appoint such a gover-

" nor, and a moderate garrison to reside there, as " shall be both for the ease and security of that " city, and that whole county. But if they shall " neglect this proffer of grace and favour, and " compel us, by the power of our army, to reduce " that place, (which, by the help of God, we doubt " not, we shall be easily and shortly able to do,) " they must thank themselves for all the calamities " and miseries must befall them. To this message " we expect a clear and positive answer, within two " hours after the publishing hereof; and by these " presents do give leave to any persons, safely to " repair to and return from us, whom that city " shall desire to employ unto us in that business: " and do require all the officers and soldiers of our " army, quietly to suffer them to pass accordingly."

Within less than the time prescribed, together with the trumpeter returned two citizens from the town, with lean, pale, sharp, and bald visages, indeed faces so strange and unusual, and in such a garb and posture, that at once made the most severe countenances merry, and the most cheerful hearts sad; for it was impossible such ambassadors could bring less than a defiance. The men, without any circumstances of duty, or good manners, in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent, said, " they " had brought an answer from the godly city of " Gloucester to the king;" and were so ready to give insolent and seditious answers to any question, as if their business were chiefly to provoke the king to violate his own safe conduct. The answer they brought was in writing, in these very words:

August 10*th*, 1643.

" We the inhabitants, magistrates, officers, and

"soldiers, within this garrison of Gloucester, unto "his majesty's gracious message return this hum- "ble answer: That we do keep this city, accord- "ing to our oaths and allegiance, to and for the "use of his majesty, and his royal posterity: "and do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly "bound to obey the commands of his majesty, "signified by both houses of parliament: and "are resolved, by God's help, to keep this city "accordingly."

This paper was subscribed by Wise the mayor, and Massy the governor, with thirteen of the aldermen, and most substantial citizens, and eleven officers of the garrison; and as soon as their messengers returned, who were quickly dismissed, without attending to see what the king resolved, all the suburbs of the city, in which were very large and fair buildings, well inhabited, were set on fire; so that there was no doubt, the king was to expect nothing there but what could not be kept from him. Now was the time for new debates, and new resolutions; to which men came not so unbiassed, or unswayed, as they had been at Bristol. This indignity and affront to the king prompted thoughts of revenge; and some thought the king so far engaged, that in honour he could not do less than sit down before the town, and force it: and these inclinations gave countenance and credit to all those plausible informations, "of small provi- "sions in the town, either of victual, or ammuni- "tion; that, where the town was strongest, there "was nothing but an old stone wall, which would "fall upon an easy battery; that there were many "well affected people in the town, who, with those

" who were incensed by the burning of the suburbs, " and the great losses they must sustain thereby, " would make such a party, that as soon as they " were distressed, the seditious party would be " forced to yield." It was alleged, " that the " enemy had no army; nor, by all intelligence, " was like to form any soon enough to be able to " relieve it; and if they had an army, that it was " much better for his majesty to force them to " that distance from London, and to fight there, " where he could be supplied with whatsoever he " wanted, could choose his own ground, where his " brave body of horse would be able to defeat any " army they could raise, than to seek them in their " own quarters."

Above all, the confidence of the soldiers of the best experience moved his majesty; who upon riding about the town, and taking a near view of it, were clear of opinion, that they should be able in less than ten days by approach, for all thoughts of storming were laid aside upon the loss at Bristol, to win it. This produced a resolution in his majesty, not one man in the council of war dissuading it. And so the king presently sent to Oxford for his general the earl of Brentford " to come to him, " with all the foot that could be spared out of that " garrison, and his pieces of battery, and to govern " that action:" prince Rupert wisely declining that province, and retiring himself into the generalship of the horse, that he might not be thought accountable for any accidents which should attend that service. At the same instant, orders were despatched to sir William Vavasour, who commanded all the forces in South Wales, (the lord

Herbert having been persuaded so far to comply with the indisposition of that people, as to decline that command, or at least for a time to dissemble it,) " to draw all his men to the forest side of the " town;" where the bridges being broken down, a small strength would keep them in, and any from going to them, which within two days was done. Thus the king was engaged before Gloucester; and thereby gave respite to the distracted spirits at London, to breathe, and compose themselves; and, more methodically than they had hoped to have done, to prepare for their preservation, and accomplishing their own ends; which at that time seemed almost desperate and incurable.

The direful news of the surrender of Bristol, which was brought to the two houses on the 31st of July, struck them to the heart, and came upon them as a sentence of death, after a vast consumption of money, and confident promises of destroying all the king's forces by a day, every tax and imposition being declared to be the last; and for finishing the work, the earl of Essex was at the same time returned to Kingston, within eight miles of them, with his broken and dismayed troops, which himself would not endure should have the title of an army. So that the war seemed to be even at an end in a sense very contrary to what they had undertaken; their general talking more, and pressing for reparation, and vindication of his honour from imputations and aspersions, than for a recruit of forces, or providing an army to defend them. Every man reproached his neighbour with his disinclination to peace, when good conditions might be had, and magnified his own wisdom, for having

feared "it would come to this." The king's last declaration had been read by all men, and was magnified "as a most gracious and undeniable in-"stance of his clemency and justice, that he was "so far from being elated with his good successes, "and power almost to have what he would, that "he renewed all those promises, and protestations "for the religion, laws, and liberties of the king-"dom, and privileges of parliament; which had "been out of their perverseness discredited before, "as proceeding from the low condition he was in; "and whereas they had been frighted with their "representation of their own guilt, and the impla-"cableness of the king's nature, as if he meant an "utter conquest of them, his majesty had now "offered all that could be honestly desired, and "had expressed himself a prince not delighted "with blood and revenge, but an indulgent father "to the most disobedient children." In this reformation of understanding, the lords in their house debated nothing but expedients for peace: there were not of that body above five, at the most, who had any inclination to continue the war; and the earl of Essex had sufficiently declared, "that he "was weary of it," and held closest and strictest correspondence with those who most passionately pressed an accommodation. So that, on the fifth of August, they desired a conference with the commons; and declared to them, "that they were "resolved to send propositions to the king, and "they hoped, they would concur in them:" the particulars proposed by them were,

1. "That both armies might be presently dis-"banded, and his majesty be entreated to return to

" his parliament, upon such security as should give " him satisfaction.

2. " That religion might be settled with the " advice of a synod of divines, in such a manner " as his majesty, with the consent of both houses " of parliament, should appoint.

3. " That the militia, both by sea and land, " might be settled by a bill; and the militia, forts, " and ships of the kingdom, put into such hands " as the king should appoint, with the approbation " of both houses of parliament: and his majesty's " revenue to be absolutely and wholly restored " unto him; only deducting such part, as had been " of necessity expended for the maintenance of his " children, and not otherwise.

4. " That all the members of both houses who " had been expelled only for absenting themselves, " or mere compliance with his majesty, and no other " matter of fact against them, might be restored to " their places.

5. " That all delinquents, from before the tenth " day of January, 1641, should be delivered up to " the justice of parliament, and a general pardon " for all others on both sides.

6. And lastly, " That there might be an act of " oblivion, for all by-gone deeds, and acts of hos- " tility."

When this conference was reported in the house of commons, it begot a wonderful long and a hot debate, which lasted till ten of the clock that night, and continued a day or two more; the violent party (for there were yet many among them of more moderate constitutions, who did, and ever had heartily abhorred their proceedings, though

out of fear, and indisposition of health, or not knowing else well what to do, they continued there) inveighed furiously against the design itself of sending to the king at all, and therefore would not have the particular propositions so much as considered: "They had received much prejudice "by the last treaty at Oxford, and therefore must "undergo much more now their condition was "much lower: the king had since that, upon the "matter, declared them to be no parliament; for "if they were not free, they could not be a parlia- "ment; so that till that point were vindicated, "they could not treat in any safe capacity, but "would be looked upon under the notion of rebels, "as his majesty had declared them. They had "sent members into Scotland to require assist- "ance, which that kingdom was preparing with all "brotherly affection and forwardness; and after "such a discovery, to treat for peace, without their "privity, was to betray them; and to forfeit all "hopes hereafter of relief from thence, what ne- "cessities soever they might be reduced to. That "the city of London had expressed all imaginable "readiness to raise forces for sir William Waller; "and the counties near London were ready to rise "as one man, whereby the earl of Essex would "be speedily enabled to march, with a better army "than ever he had, to give the king battle, ex- "cept this discourse of peace did extinguish the "zeal that was then flaming in the hearts of the "people."

But notwithstanding these reasons, and the passion in the delivery, the terror of the king's successes suggested answers enough. "They had

" been punished for breaking off the treaty of " Oxford, when they might have had better terms " than now they could expect; and if they omitted " this opportunity, they should fare much worse; " that they were not sure of aid from Scotland, " neither was it almost possible it should come " time enough to preserve them from the ruin at " hand. And for the city of London, though the " common and meaner sort of people, who might " promise themselves advantage by it, desired the " continuance of the distractions, yet it was evi- " dent the most substantial and rich men desired " peace, by their refusal to supply money for the " carrying on the war; and if they should judge " of the common people by their forwardness to " engage their own persons, they had reason to " believe they had no mind to the war neither; for " their general was forced to retire even under " their own walls, for want of men to recruit his " army. However, the sending reasonable propo- " sitions to the king would either procure a peace, " and so they should have no more need of an " army; or, being refused, would raise more men " and money, than all their ordinances without it." These reasons and arguments prevailed; and after the debate had lasted till ten of the clock at night, it was resolved upon the question, and carried by nine and twenty voices, " That they should insist " upon the propositions, and send to his majesty."

And without doubt, if they had then sent, (as, if the power had been in the two houses of parliament, they had done,) a firm peace had immediately ensued: for besides that if a treaty and cessation had been in that conjuncture entered

upon, no extravagant demand would have been pressed, only a security for those who had been faulty, which the king would gladly have granted, and most religiously observed; the fourth proposition, and consent to restore all members to their places in parliament, would have prevented the kindling any more fire in those houses. But this was too well known to be suffered to pass; and therefore the next day, being Sunday, the seditious preachers filled all the pulpits with alarms of "ruin "and destruction to the city, if a peace were now "offered to the king;" and printed papers were scattered through the streets, and fixed upon gates, posts, and the most public places in the city and suburbs, requiring "all persons well affected to "rise as one man, and to come to the house of "commons next morning; for that twenty thou- "sand Irish rebels were landed;" which information was likewise given that day in many pulpits by their preachers; and in other papers likewise set up, it was declared, "that the malignant party had "overvoted the good, and, if not prevented, there "would be a peace."

When the minds of the people were thus prepared, Pennington, their own lord mayor, though on Sunday, (on which they before complained the king used to sit in council,) called a common council; where a petition was framed to the house of commons, taking notice "of propositions passed "by the house of peers for peace, which if con- "sented to, and allowed, would be destructive to "religion, laws, and liberties; and therefore de- "sired that house to pass an ordinance, according "to the tenor of an act of their common council,"

(which they appointed to be annexed to their petition,) "which was for the vigorous prosecuting the "war, and declining all thoughts of accommoda-"tion." With this petition, and such an attendance as those preparatives were like to bring, the lord mayor himself, who, from the time of his mayoralty, had forborne sitting in the house as a member, came to the house of commons, and delivered it, with such farther insinuations of the temper of the city, as were fit for the purpose; the people at the door behaving themselves as imperiously, and telling the members of both houses, as they passed by them, "that if they had not a good "answer, they would be there the next day with "double the number." The lords complained of the tumults, and sent to the commons to join with them in their suppression; instead whereof the commons (many of their body withdrawing for fear, and others by fear converted, or it may be by hope of prevailing) gave the city thanks "for their "petition, advice, and courage;" and rejected the propositions for peace.

This raised a new contest in the city, which was not willing to lie under the perpetual brand of resisting and opposing peace, as they did of first raising the war. And therefore the wise and sober part of it would gladly have discovered how averse they were from the late act of the common council. But the late execution of Tomkins and Chaloner, and the advantage which was presently taken against any man who was moderately inclined, frighted all men from appearing in person to desire those things upon which their hearts were most set. In the end, the women expressed greater

courage than the men; and having a precedent of a rabble of that sex, appearing in the beginning of these distractions with a petition to the house of commons, to foment the divisions, with acceptance and approbation, a great multitude of the wives of substantial citizens came to the house of commons with a petition for peace. Thereupon a troop of horse, under the command of one Harvey, a decayed silkman, who from the beginning had been one most confided in, were sent for; who behaved themselves with such inhumanity, that they charged among the silly women, as an enemy worthy of their courage, and killed and wounded many of them, and easily dispersed the rest. When they were by this means secured from farther vexation of this kind, special notice was taken of those members who seemed most importunate, and desirous of peace, that some advantage might be taken against them. Whereupon, they well discerning the danger they were in, many both of the peers and the commons first absented themselves from the houses, and then removed into those quarters where they might enjoy the protection of the king; and some of them came directly to Oxford.

Having diverted this torrent, which would have brought peace upon them before they were aware, they considered their strength, and applied themselves to the recovery of the spirits of their general; whose indisposition troubled them more than any other distress they were in. To this cure they applied remedies of contrary natures, which would yet work to the same end. First they caressed sir William Waller with wonderful kindness and

esteem; and as he was met upon his return to London, after the most total defeat that could almost be imagined, (for though few of his horse were killed upon the place, they were so ruinously dispersed, that of above two thousand, there were not three hundred gotten together again for their service,) with all the trained bands and militia of London, and received as if he had brought the king prisoner with him; so he was immediately chosen governor and commander in chief of the forces and militia of London, for the defence of the city; and it was now declared, "that they would "forthwith supply him with a good body of horse "and foot, to take the field again, and relieve "their distressed friends in the west." Then another ordinance was passed to raise a vast army, under the command of the earl of Manchester, (who had been always steady to his first principles, and never a friend to any overture of accommodation,) in order to opposing the earl of Newcastle, and to take charge of all the associated counties; which were Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntington, and (by a new addition) Lincoln; and for the speedy raising men to join to those who would voluntarily list themselves under these two beloved generals, there was an ordinance passed both houses for the pressing of men; which seemed somewhat to discredit their cause, that, after so much pretence to the hearts of the people, they should be now compelled to fight, whether they would or no; and was the more wondered at, because they had themselves procured the king's consent to an act this parliament, that declared it to be unlawful to press, or compel any of the free-

born subjects to march out of the county in which they lived, if he were not willing so to do; and direction was given by other ordinances to press great numbers of men, to serve both under the earl of Manchester and sir William Waller; and having thus provided for the worst, and let the earl of Essex discern, that they had another earl to trust to, and more generals than one at their devotion, they sent a formal committee of both houses to him, to use all imaginable art, and application to him, to recover him to his former vigour, and zeal in their cause. They told him "the high value "the houses had of the service he had done, and "the hazards, dangers, and losses he had for their "sakes undergone: that he should receive as "ample a vindication for the calumnies and aspersions raised on him, as he could desire, from the "full testimony and confidence of the two houses; "and if the infamous authors of them could be "found, their punishment should be as notorious "as their libels: that no other forces should be "recruited till his were made up; and that all his "soldiers' arrears should be paid, and clothes presently sent for his foot."

Whether these reasons, with the jealousy of the earl of Manchester, upon whom he plainly saw the violent party wholly depended, or the infusions poured into him by the lord Say and Mr. Pym, of the desperateness of his own condition, with an opinion, by the conclusions upon the differences between the two princes and the marquis of Hertford, that the marquis's services were not enough valued by the king, (which many desired should be thought to have then some influence upon the

earl,) or whether he had not courage enough to engage in so hazardous an enterprise, he grew insensibly altered from his moderate inclinations, and desire of peace; for it is most certain, that as the confidence in him gave many lords the spirit to appear champions for peace, who had been before as solicitous against it, so the design was then the same, which hath been since prosecuted, with effect, to a worse purpose, [that is,] for the members of both houses who were of one mind, upon that signal riot, and compelling the house of commons to renounce their former resolution of propositions to the king, to have gone to the earl of Essex, and there, under the security of their own army, to have protested against the violence which was offered, the breach of their privileges by the common council's taking notice of their counsels, and overruling their conclusions, and to have declared their want of freedom: by means whereof, they made no doubt to have drawn the houses to consent to such an agreement as the king would well have approved of; or to have entered upon such a treaty themselves with the king, as all the moderate part of the kingdom would have been glad to be comprehended under.

But this staggering in their general frustrated that design, and put them to other resolutions; and so, having rendered themselves very ungracious in the houses, and possibly suspecting the earl of Essex might discover some of their overtures, many of the lords left the town, and went either directly to Oxford, or into the king's quarters; the earl of Portland, and the lord Lovelace, (of whose good affections to his service the king had

always assurance, and who had only stayed there, as at a place where they might do him more service, than any where else,) directly to Oxford; and the lord Conway shortly after them; the earl of Clare into Worcestershire, and from thence, by the king's free acceptation, to Oxford; there being no other objection against his lordship, than his staying so long amongst them; but his total differing with them in all their extravagances, he having no manner of relation to the court, rendered him to his majesty's opinion under a very good character. The earls of Bedford and Holland, not without some difficulty, their purpose being discovered or suspected, got into the king's garrison at Wallingford, from whence the governor gave advertisement of their arrival; the earl of Northumberland, with the leave of the house, retired for his health to his house at Petworth in Sussex; which though it was in a county entirely then at the parliament's devotion, yet it was near enough to be infested from some of the king's quarters, if he had not some assurance of being safe there.

The violent party carried now all before them, and were well contented with the absence of those who used to give them some trouble and vexation. For the better strengthening themselves with the people, they ordered the divines of the assembly to repair into the country to their cures, especially in the counties of the association under the earl of Manchester, to stir up the people, with all their eloquence, to rise as one man against their sovereign; and omitted nothing within their power, which might contribute to the raising men or

money; being not a little joyed, when they understood the king had given them more time than they expected, to compose all disorders and divisions among themselves, by his staying with his army before Gloucester; which was the greater blessing, and preservation to them, because at the same time there were sudden insurrections in Kent against their ordinances and jurisdiction, in defence of the known laws, and especially of the Book of Common Prayer; which, if the king's army had been at any distance to have countenanced, they would never have been able to suppress.

The fame of all these distractions and disorders at London exceedingly disposed men in all places to reproach his majesty's stay before Gloucester; his friends at London desiring that his majesty should march directly thither, to take the advantage of those distractions; and the lords of the council at Oxford, upon the intelligence and advice from thence, were very solicitous that the king would take that resolution, to which he was himself enough inclined. But his condition was believed to be, in both places, better than it was; and that he had now a victorious army, without an enemy to restrain his motion: whereas, in truth, it was a miserable army, lessened exceedingly by the losses it sustained before Bristol; and when that part of it was marched with prince Maurice into the west, and which could not have marched any other way, the king had not much above six thousand foot to march with, though he left none at Bristol, but obliged the lord Hopton to garrison it as he could, which he shortly did; andthat would have appeared a very small army to

have marched towards London; though it is true the horse was a noble body, and superior in number to that of the foot.

There was likewise another circumstance, that few men were then acquainted with: upon the first news of the taking of Bristol, his majesty, before he left Oxford, had sent an express to the earl of Newcastle, who was then engaged before Hull, "that if he found the business of Hull to be more "difficult than he expected, he should leave it "blocked up at a distance, which might restrain "excursions into the country, and march with his "army into the associated counties;" which comprehended Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Essex, which had associated themselves, by some agreement, to serve the parliament; though the better part of all those counties, especially of the two greater, were most affected to the king, and wished for an opportunity to express it; and if the earl would bring his army through those counties towards London, his majesty would then resolve, with his own, to march towards it on the other side. And in the very time that his majesty came before Gloucester, and before he took the resolution to sit down before it, that express returned from the earl of Newcastle, who informed him, "that it was impossible for him to comply with "his commands, in marching with his army into "the associated counties, for that the gentlemen "of the country, who had the best regiments, and "were among the best officers, utterly refused to "march, except Hull were first taken; and that "he had not strength enough to march and to "leave Hull securely blocked up:" which adver-

tisement, with the consideration before mentioned, of the enlarging his quarters by the taking of Gloucester, and the concurrence of all the officers, that it would speedily be taken, produced that resolution of attempting it, notwithstanding that the queen herself writ so importunately against it, that his majesty thought it necessary to make a journey himself to Oxford, to convince her majesty, and to compose some distempers which were risen among his council there, upon the news of the arrival of some of the lords mentioned before in those quarters.

The king was newly set down before Gloucester, when the governor of Wallingford sent notice to Oxford, of the arrival of those two earls; to whom the lords of the council returned direction, "that "they should stay there, till the king's pleasure "was understood;" to whom the secretary had sent the information, and desired his majesty's will concerning their reception. The king well knew, any order he should give in it would be liable to many objections, and he had not so good an inclination to either of them, as to run any inconvenience for their sakes; the earl of Bedford having served in person against him, as the general of the rebels' horse; and the earl of Holland, in the king's opinion, having done worse. And therefore his majesty commanded, "that his privy-council "should debate the matter among themselves, and "present their opinion and advice to him; and he "would then determine what kind of entertain-"ment they should have." The opinions at the board were several; some thought, "that his "majesty should receive them very graciously,

" and with all outward expressions of his accept-
" ance of their return to his service; and that the
" demeanour of all others to them should be such,
" as might make them think themselves very wel-
" come, without the least taking notice of any
" thing formerly done amiss by them; which
" would be a great encouragement to others to
" come away too: so that the numbers and quality
" of those who stayed behind would probably in a
" short time be so small, that they would have no
" reputation in the kingdom to continue the war."
Many differed diametrically from this; and were so far from thinking this advice agreeable to the dignity or security of the king, that they thought it not fit " to admit them presently to the king's
" or queen's presence, till, by their good carriage
" and demeanour, they should give some testimony
" of their affections: they had both taken the late
" covenant, of which one clause was, to assist the
" forces raised by the parliament, against the army
" raised by the king; with many reproaches, and
" known scandals upon that army. If they had
" felt a true remorse of conscience for the ill they
" had done, they would have left that party, when
" that covenant was to be imposed upon them;
" which since they did not, that they came now
" was to be imputed rather to the king's success,
" and the weakness of that power which they had
" hitherto served, than to any reformation of their
" understanding, or improvement of their alle-
" giance: and that it was great reason, that they
" who had given such arguments of just jealousy
" and suspicion of themselves, should raise a con-
" fidence in their loyalty and affection by some act

" equal to the other; and therefore that none " who had taken that covenant should be admitted " to the presence of the king, queen, or prince, " before he had taken some other oath or cove- " nant, declaring an equal hatred and abhorring of " the rebellious arms which were taken up against " his majesty, and the counsels by which they were " taken up."

It was said, " that the good or ill reception of " these lords could have no influence upon the " actions or deliberations at Westminster, or Lon- " don, or any considerable persons there: that " they were but single men, without any con- " siderable dependence upon them. Whilst they " had reputation and interest enough to do good " or hurt, and the king's condition needed their " attendance, they chose to be engaged against " him; but now, when they were able to do him " no more harm, they came to receive benefit and " advantage from him: that it was a common " argument men used to allege to themselves for " their compliance with, and submission to, the " commands of the parliament; that, if they did " otherwise, their severity and rigour was so great, " that they and their families were sure to be " ruined; but, if the king prevailed, he was gra- " cious and merciful, and would remit their offences " whensoever they cast themselves at his feet; " which presumption if they should see confirmed " in this example, it would make the observation " of conscience and loyalty of no price, and en- " courage those who were risen against him; and " exceedingly dishearten those who had been " honest and faithful from the beginning: that

" there could ensue no inconvenience from any " reservedness and coldness towards them; for " they durst not return to London, having now " made themselves odious to that party, and had " no hope but from the acceptance of his majesty; " which they should merit before they found." There was a third opinion between these extremes, " that they should be neither courted nor neglected, " but be admitted to kiss the king's and queen's " hands, and to dispose themselves as they thought " fit; and so to leave the rest to their future de- " meanour:" and to resolve which of these opinions to follow, was another motive for his majesty's sudden journey to Oxford.

The king found greater alterations in the minds and spirits at Oxford, than he expected after so much great success as had befallen him; and that success was it, that had made the alteration; it being the unlucky temper of that place, and that company, to be the soonest and the most desperately cast down upon any misfortune or loss, and to be again, upon any victory, the most elated, and the most apt to undervalue any difficulties which remained. The taking Bristol had so possessed them with joy, that they thought the war even at an end, and that there was nothing left to be done, but to take possession of London; which they were assured would be delivered to them upon demand. Many members of both houses were come to Oxford, which assured them, " the violent people there were even in despair; " and after the news came of the surrender of " Bristol, that they had only kept up their spirits " [in hopes] that the king would engage his

"army in the siege of Gloucester, which some of "them had seemed to promise their friends would "be the case:" from whence they would infer, "that the king was betrayed, and that they who "had persuaded him to undertake that design "were corrupted by the parliament." And the envy and jealousy of all this fell upon sir John Colepepper, who was indeed of the opinion for the siege, but, without doubt, how much soever he suffered at that time, and afterwards, under that reproach, he believed there was very good reason for that engagement, and was most free from any corrupt end, and of most sincere fidelity.

This discourse and imagination had made wonderful impression upon the queen; who was inflamed with a jealousy that there was a design to lessen her interest in the king, and that prince Rupert was chief in that conspiracy, and meant to bring it to pass by keeping the king still in the army, and by hindering his coming to Oxford: and out of this apprehension the queen had written so warmly and concernedly to the king, who was the most incapable of any such apprehensions, and had her majesty in so perfect an adoration, that as soon as he received that letter, without delay he came to Oxford, and quickly composed those mistakes; though the being engaged before Gloucester was still very grievous, and reproaches were publicly cast upon those who gave the advice.

But that which took up most of the time of that one day that the king stayed at Oxford, was concerning the two lords who were retained at Wallingford; which had been agitated in the council

with great passion before the king's coming. The king caused the council to meet the next morning, and asked their advice, "whether the earls of "Bedford and of Holland should be admitted to "come into Oxford, or obliged to return from "whence they came? or, if admitted, how they "should be received, or countenanced by their "majesties?" And it cannot be enough wondered at, that there should be any difference of opinion in that matter; but it cannot be expressed, with how much earnestness and unreasonableness the whole was debated, and how warmly even they, who in all other debates still expressed all moderation and temper, did now oppose the receiving these lords with any grace, with more passion, and other reasons, than had been offered in their former conferences; so that there was scarce known such an union in opinion at that board, in any thing, where disunion was very inconvenient.

All exaggerated "the carriage and foul ingrati-"tude of the earl of Holland, from the beginning of "the parliament; and the earl of Bedford's being "general of the horse in the earl of Essex's army; "and now when the parliament was low, and they "had lost their credit and interest there, they "were come to the king, whom they had so much "offended; and expected to be as much, it may "be, more made of, than they who had borne the "heat of the day; which would so much reflect "upon the king's honour, that men would be "exceedingly discouraged to serve him." Some moved, "that they might be detained, and kept "prisoners of war, since they came into the king's "quarters without any pass;" others as plainly

and more vehemently pressed, "that they might "not be suffered to come to Oxford, or where the "king or queen should be; but permitted to live "in some other place within the king's quarters, "until they should manifest their affections by "some service." They who thought this too severe and unpolitic, proposed "that they might "be suffered to come to Oxford, that thereby they "might be kept from returning to the parliament," (which appeared to most to be liable to many exceptions,) "but that being at Oxford, they should "not come to court; and that no privy-counsellor "should visit them."

In this whole debate, the chancellor of the exchequer, who seldom spoke without some earnestness, was the only man (except another, who brought no credit to the opinion, the lord Savile) who advised confidently, "that they might be very "graciously received by both their majesties, and "civilly be visited and treated by every body; that "other men might, by the entertainment they re-"ceived, be encouraged to desert the parliament "too." He said, "it would be too great a disad-"vantage to the king, and to his cause, that whilst "the parliament used all the industry and artifices, "to corrupt the duty and affection of the subject, "and had their arms open to receive and embrace "all, who would come to them, his majesty should "admit none to return to him, who had been "faulty, or not come so soon as they ought to "have done; that if the king had a mind to "gratify and oblige the parliament, he could not "do it more to their hearts' desire, than by reject-"ing the application of these lords, or suffering it "to pass unregarded." There was one argument

against their admission urged very loudly, "that it "would disturb the peace of the place;" the earl of Bedford had commanded that part of the army, which infested the marquis of Hertford, at his being at Sherborne, when the marquis had sent Harry Seymour, as is mentioned before, with a challenge to the earl to fight with him; which the earl reasonably declined at that time; and said, "he would be ready, when the business of the par- "liament should be over, to wait upon the marquis "when he should require it." And some men, who were near enough to the marquis's counsels, undertook to know, that if the earl of Bedford should be in Oxford, the marquis, who was every day expected, would exact the performance of his promise; which sure he was too wise to do.

The king, during the whole debate, did not express any thing of his own sense, save that he seemed well pleased with any sharpness that was expressed towards the earl of Holland. He said, "that he was bound to his good behaviour, by "being under the common reproach of inclining "too much to those who had used him worst; of "which he would not be guilty:" however, he did not think, at this time, that it would be good to make any persons desperate; and therefore gave order, "that the governor of Wallingford should "permit them to continue their journey to Oxford; "where all men might use what civilities they "pleased to them; and that himself and the queen "would do that towards them, which, upon their "application and address, they should think fit:" and though this determination was given, without the least discovery of grace towards the persons of those lords, and not without some reflections of

prejudice towards them, it was not grateful to the table; which was evident enough by their countenance. The next morning the king returned to the army.

There had been, as is said, very great divisions in the counsels at Westminster, from the time of the treaty, and the very abrupt breaking of it; and the earl of Northumberland, resenting the affront done to him by Martin, had increased those divisions; and the ill successes afterwards in the defeat of Waller, and the taking of Bristol, had given every man courage to say what he would. And then the proceeding upon Mr. Waller's discovery, and obliging all men to take a desperate engagement, which they durst not refuse, for fear of being declared guilty of the plot, as many of them were, incensed very many: but above all, the prosperity of the king's affairs made every body wish to come into his quarters. A great number of the house of commons, who were known always to wish well, came to Oxford: and of the peers, the earl of Portland, who was always very faithful to the king, and had stayed in the house of peers by his majesty's leave, and had been accused by Mr. Waller to be privy to that design, upon which he had endured a long imprisonment, came at this time to Oxford, [as is said before,] together with the lord Conway, and the lord Lovelace; the former of which had been likewise questioned, and imprisoned, and the latter had been as knowing of the matter, and of constant duty to the king; and all three had gotten liberty and opportunity to come away by swallowing that vow, and oath, which could only set them free, and which they made

haste to answer for to the king. The return of the earl of Essex to London in ill humour, had given opportunity to the earl of Holland, and the rest, who were weary of the work in hand, to inflame him to resentment of the neglects which had been put upon him, and the jealousies which were entertained of him. The earl of Bedford had given up his commission of general of the horse, and quitted the service, and never had any affection to their ways in his judgment, which was not great. The earl of Clare had been with the king at York, and had his leave to return to London, to intend his own particular affairs; and, during his stay, had never concurred in any malicious counsel against the king, but was looked upon as a man, not only firm to the principles of monarchy, but of duty to the person of the king. He was a man of honour, and of courage, and would have been an excellent person, if his heart had not been set too much upon the keeping and improving his estate; he was weary of the company he kept, and easily hearkened to the earl of Holland, in any consultation how to recover the king's authority, and to put an end to the war. The earl of Essex was, as is said before, enough provoked, and incensed, and willingly heard all the lords, and others, who inveighed against the violent proceedings of those who swayed the parliament, and differed not with them in his judgment of the men, and the matter: so that they believed that he would as readily be disposed to agree upon the remedy, as he did upon the disease.

Their end and design was, if they could draw him to a concurrence, that they, and all the rest of

those who were accounted moderate men, that is who desired a peace, and to return to their duty to the king, (which was much the major part of both houses that remained at Westminster, after so many of both were gone to the king,) might all go to the army; and thereupon the general, and they, to write to the parliament together, and to send such propositions to them, as the parliament should transmit to the king, as the conditions of peace. If the king should refuse to consent to them, it would be an infallible way to unite all people to compel him to it: but if the parliament would refuse to transmit those propositions to the king, or to consent to a peace upon those conditions, they would then declare against them, for not adhering to the grounds upon which the war was first begun, and would join themselves to the king to force them to it. If this had been done in that conjuncture, when the authority and credit of the earl of Essex was not yet eclipsed, and before an independent army was raised, which was shortly after done, it could not probably have failed of the success desired. But the earl was too scrupulous and too punctual to that which he called a trust; and this was too barefaced a separation for him to engage in: besides that he did believe, that he should be able to suppress that violent party by the parliament itself, and he thought that would bring all about which he desired; and so he did not only reject what was proposed to him, but expressed such a dislike of the earl of Holland for proposing it, that he thought it high time to get himself out of his reach. The earl of Holland, who always considered himself in the first place, had, from the

time of the queen's landing, privately made offer of his service to the queen, and renewed his old confidence and friendship with Mr. Jermyn; and knowing well to enhance the value of his own service, made great promises of notable service; and Mr. Jermyn easily persuaded her majesty, "that it was much better for her to restore an old "servant, whom she knew so well, to her confi- "dence, (though he had stepped out of the way,) "than to rely upon the fidelity of any of those "who were now about the king, and who were all "upon the matter strangers to her, at least not "enough known by her;" and then, "that, by "laying hold upon this opportunity, she would, "at her first coming to the king, carry his restora- "tion with her, possess herself of the whole frame "of his business, because all other designs would "be laid aside; and so all the good, which would "redound to the king and kingdom from this new "negociation, must, by the consent of all the "world, be attributed to her majesty's wisdom and "conduct." And this appearing hopeful to her majesty, and all that had any thing of hope was by the other always looked upon as certain, the correspondence was embraced; and the earl assured not only to be restored to his former station in all respects, but to a title to new interest. And upon this encouragement and obligation, when he found he could not prevail with the earl of Essex, that the king's affairs prospered, and that Bristol was now taken, and the queen come to Oxford, he resolved himself to go thither, and prevailed with the earls of Bedford and Clare to do the like; he assuring them, that they should be very well re-

ceived. The earl of Clare made his journey by himself, out of the common road, and came without any interruption into Oxford, at the time appointed: the earls of Bedford and Holland came together to Wallingford, as is mentioned. The earl of Northumberland, who was naturally suspicious, went to his own house at Petworth in Sussex; by which he thought he shewed aversion enough to the counsels at Westminster, and would keep it in his own power to return, if he found that the reception of the other lords at Oxford was not answerable to their expectation; besides that he would expect the result of the lord Conway's negociation, who was more trusted by him than any other.

The leave for the two earls to come from Wallingford to Oxford, was declared but the night before the king returned to the army; and was not sent thither till the next day. So that the lords came not to Oxford till two days after, much mortified with the time they had been forced to spend at Wallingford, and with the disputation they heard had been held concerning them; of which they had received so particular information, that the earl of Holland writ a very civil letter to the chancellor [of the exchequer] before he came to Oxford, taking notice of "the affection he had shewed to him "in his advice to the king." Both of them had friends enough there to provide for their accommodation in convenient lodgings: so that the one had a lodging at Magdalen college in Oxford, of which house he had formerly been a member; the other lay in Balliol college, where he had a daughter, who spared him part of her lodgings. But

for any application to them by the lords, or persons in authority there, they had no reason to think themselves very welcome. They went, in the first place, to do their duties to the queen; who received them coldly enough, not out of disinclination, or willingness enough to shew them any countenance, but pure compliance with the ill humour of the town, which she detested: nor did Mr. Jermyn, who still valued himself upon the impossible faculty to please all, and displease none, think fit to deal clearly with them in that point, (having, no doubt, said more in his letters of correspondence and advice, than he had authority to do; it being his custom to write and speak what was most grateful to the persons;) so that the earl of Holland, with whom alone the correspondence had been, began to think himself betrayed, and invited to Oxford only to be exposed to contempt. He came one morning to visit the chancellor of the exchequer, when there were the lord Cottington, and two or three other privy-counsellors with him, who all went presently away, without so much as saluting him: which offended the chancellor as much as it did him, and in truth obliged him to more ceremony and civility, than, it may be, he would otherwise have exercised; and he did visit him again, and make all professions and offers of kindness and service to him; which he did very heartily; and complied therein, not only with his own inclinations, but with his judgment, as very important to the king's service; and did all he could to induce others to be of the same opinion; in which he had no great success.

The intelligence from London brought, every

day, the resolution of the parliament, "to relieve "Gloucester;" and that, if their levies did not supply them with men soon enough, the trained bands of the city would march out with the general for that service; whereupon the three earls, Bedford, Holland, and Clare, after some days' stay in Oxford, thought it necessary to offer their service to the king in the army, and to bear their part in any danger that might happen by an engagement between the armies; and so went together to Gloucester; where the king received them without any disrespect, and spoke with them as they gave him occasion.

Whilst the king continued before Gloucester, his forces in the west moved with a full gale and tide of success. The earl of Carnarvon marched with the horse and dragoons, being near two thousand, into Dorsetshire, two days before prince Maurice moved with his foot and cannon from Bristol, and had made a fair entrance upon the reduction of that whole county, before his highness overtook him; and it was thought then, that, if the prince had marched more slowly, he had perfected that work. Upon the surrender of Bristol, many of the gentlemen, and others of that county, who were engaged in that city for the parliament, had visited their houses and friends, in their journey to London, whither by their safe conduct they went, and had made such prodigious discourses of the fierceness and courage of the cavaliers, (as most men who run away, or are beaten, extol the power of the enemy which had been too hard for them,) that resisting them begun to be thought a matter impossible. One Mr. Strode, a man much

relied on in those parts, and of a good fortune, after he had visited his house, took Dorchester in his way to London, and being desired by the magistrates, "to view their works and fortifications, "and to give his judgment of them;" after he had walked about them, he told them, "that those "works might keep out the cavaliers about half an "hour;" and then told them strange stories of the manner of assaulting Bristol; "and that the "king's soldiers made nothing of running up walls "twenty foot high, and that no works could keep "them out;" which he said not out of any purpose to betray them, (for no man wished the king's army worse success,) but had really so much horror and consternation about him, and the dreadful image of the storm of Bristol imprinted in his mind, that he did truly believe, they had scaled all those forts and places which were delivered to them; and he propagated this fear and trepidation so fruitfully where he came, that the earl of Carnarvon came no sooner near Dorchester with his horse and dragoons, (which, it may be, was understood to be the van of the victorious army which had taken Bristol,) but the town sent commissioners to him to treat; and upon articles of indemnity, that they should not be plundered, and not suffer for the ill they had done, delivered up the town, (which was strongly situated, and might very well have been defended by the spirits of these people, if they had courage equal to their malice; for a place more entirely disaffected to the king, England had not,) with all their arms, ammunition, and ordnance. The fame of the earl's coming had before frighted sir Walter Earl, who had for a long

time besieged Corfe castle, (the house of the lord chief justice Banks, defended by his lady with her servants, and some few gentlemen, and tenants, who betook themselves thither for her assistance, and their own security,) from that siege; and he making more haste to convey himself to London, than generals use to do, who have the care and charge of others, his forces were presently dispersed. And now the surrender of Dorchester (the magazine from whence the other places were supplied with principles of rebellion) infused the same spirit into Weymouth, a very convenient harbour and haven: and that example again prevailed on the island and castle of Portland, (a place not enough understood, but of wonderful importance,) to all which the earl granted fair conditions, and received them into his majesty's protection.

Hither prince Maurice came now up with his foot and cannon, and neglecting to follow the train of the enemy's fears to Lyme and Poole, the only two garrisons then left in their possession, stayed with his army about Dorchester and Weymouth some days, under the notion of settling and disposing the government of those garrisons. Here the soldiers, taking advantage of the famous malignity of those places, used great license; neither was there care taken to observe those articles which had been made upon the surrender of the towns; which the earl of Carnarvon, who was full of honour and justice upon all contracts, took so ill, that he quitted the command he had with those forces, and returned to the king before Gloucester; which published the injustice with the more scandal. Whether this license, which was much spoken

of, and, no doubt, given out to be greater than it was, aliened the affections of those parts; or whether the absence of the marquis of Hertford from the army, which was not till then taken notice of, begot an apprehension that there would not be much lenity used towards those who had been high and pertinacious offenders; or whether this army, when it was together, seemed less formidable than it was before conceived to be, or that the terror, which had possessed and seized upon their spirits, was so violent that it could not continue, and so men grew less amazed, I know not: but those two small towns, whereof Lyme was believed inconsiderable, returned so peremptory a refusal to the prince's summons, that his highness resolved not to attack them; and so marched to Exeter, where he found all things in better order, and that city more distressed, than he had reason to expect, by the diligence and dexterity of sir John Berkley, who being sent from Wells by the marquis of Hertford, as is before remembered, to govern the affairs of Devonshire, with one regiment of horse, and another of new levied and half-armed foot, had so increased his numbers by the concurrence of the gentlemen of that county, that he fixed strong quarters within less than a mile of the city, and kept his guards even to the gates; when the earl of Stamford was within, with a strength at least equal in number to the besiegers.

The parliament commended the relief of this place, by special instructions, to their admiral, the earl of Warwick; who after he had made show of landing men in several places upon the coast, and thereby compelled sir John Berkley to make quick

and wearisome marches with horse and dragoons from place to place, the wind coming fair, the fleet left those who attended their landing about Totness, turned about, and with a fresh gale made towards the river, that leads to the walls of Exeter; and having the command of both sides of the river, upon a flat, by their cannon, the earl presumed that way he should be able to send relief into the city: but the admirable diligence and providence of sir John Berkley had fortunately cast up some slight works upon the advantageous nooks of the river, in which his men might be in some security from the cannon of the ships; and made great haste with his horse to hinder their landing; and so this attempt was not only without success, but so unfortunate, that it discouraged the seamen from endeavouring the like again. For after three or four hours pouring their great shot, from their ships, upon the land forces, the tide falling, the earl of Warwick fell off with his fleet, leaving three ships behind him, of which one was burnt, and the other two taken from the land, in view of his whole fleet; which no more looked after the relief of Exeter that way.

But whilst all the king's forces were employed in the blocking up the town, and attending the coast, to wait upon the earl of Warwick, the garrison of Plymouth increased very fast, into which the fleet disburdened themselves of all they could spare; and the north parts of Devonshire gathered apace into a head for the parliament; Barnstable and Bediford being garrisoned by them; which having an uninterrupted line of communication with Plymouth, resolved to join their whole strength,

and so to compel the enemy to draw off from the walls of Exeter, which had been very easy to have been done, if they in the city had been as active for their own preservation. Sir John Berkley having notice of this preparation and resolution, sent colonel John Digby (who had, from their first entrance into Cornwall, commanded the horse) with his own regiment of horse, and some loose troops of dragoons, into the north of Devon, to hinder the joining of the rebels' forces. He chose Torrington for his quarter, and within few days drew to him a troop of new-raised horse, and a regiment of foot, raised by his old friends in Cornwall; so that he had with him above three hundred horse, and six or seven hundred foot. Those of Bediford and Barnstable, being superior in number, and apprehending that the king's successes eastward might increase his strength and power there, and weaken theirs, resolved to try their fortune; and joining themselves together, to the number of above twelve hundred foot, and three hundred horse, under the command of colonel Bennet, hoped to surprise colonel John Digby at Torrington; and he was upon the matter surprised: for albeit he had notice in the night from Barnstable, "that the forces "drew out thence to Bediford in the night, and "that they intended to fall on his quarters early in "the morning;" and thereupon he put himself into a posture to receive them, and drew up all his forces together out of the town, upon such a piece of ground, as, in that enclosed county, could be most advantageous for his horse, having, through all the little enclosures, cut gaps, through which his horse might enter; yet, after he had attended

their coming till noon, and heard no more of them, and his small parties, which were sent out to inquire, returned with assurance, that there was no appearance of an enemy, he believed they had given over their design; and so dismissed his horse to their several quarters, reserving only one hundred and fifty upon their guard, and returned himself into the town with the foot.

And within less than an hour, he received the alarm, "that the enemy was within half a mile of "the town." The confusion was very great, so that he resolved not to draw the foot out of the town; but having placed them in the best manner he could, upon the avenues, himself went to the horse out of the town, resolving to wait upon the rear of the enemy; who were drawn up on the same piece of ground, on which he had expected them all the morning. The colonel, whose courage, and vivacity upon action, was very eminent, and commonly very fortunate, intended rather to look upon them, than to engage with them, before his other troops came up; but having divided his small party of horse, the whole consisting but of one hundred and fifty, into several parties, and distributed them into several little closes, out of which there were gaps into the larger ground, upon which the enemy stood, a forlorn hope of fifty musketeers advanced towards that ground where himself was; and if they [had] recovered the hedge, they would easily have driven him thence. And therefore, as the only expedient left, himself, taking four or five officers into the front with him, charged that forlorn hope; which immediately threw down their arms, and run upon their own

body, and carried so infectious a fear with them, that without making a stand, or their horse offering once to charge, the whole body routed themselves, and fled; colonel Digby following the execution with his horse, till their swords were blunted with slaughter, and his numbers overburdened with prisoners; though the foot out of the town hastened to the chase, as soon as they saw what terror had possessed their enemies.

In this action (for it cannot be called a battle; hardly a skirmish; where no resistance was made) there were near two hundred killed, and above two hundred taken prisoners; and those that fled contributed more to the victory, than the prisoners, or the slain, for they were scattered and dispersed over all the country, and scarce a man without a cut over the face and head, or some other hurt; that wrought more upon the neighbours towards their conversion, than any sermon could be preached to them. Some of the principal officers, and of their horse, got into Bediford and Barnstable; and not considering the inconvenience of acknowledging, that God was extraordinary propitious to the cavaliers, told strange stories of "the horror and "fear that seized upon them, and that nobody saw "above six of the enemy, that charged them;" which proved a greater dismay to their friends, than their defeat.

At this time came prince Maurice to Exeter, the fame of whose arrival brought a new terror, so that the fort at Appledore, which commanded the river to Barnstable and Bediford, being delivered to colonel Digby, within two or three days after his victory, those two towns shortly after submitted to

his majesty, upon promise of pardon, and such other articles as were of course; which colonel Digby saw precisely observed, as far as concerned the towns in point of plunder, or violence towards the inhabitants. And this success so wrought upon the spirits and temper of that people, that all the persons of eminent disaffection withdrawing themselves, according to their liberty by the articles; colonel Digby, within very few days, increased his small party to the number of three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse; with which he was by prince Maurice ordered to march to Plymouth, and to block up that place from making incursions into the country.

The loss of all their garrisons on the north coast, and despair of succour or relief from any other place, prevailed with the earl of Stamford, and that committee in Exeter, (to whom the earl was not superior,) to treat with the prince; and thereupon articles were agreed to; and that rich and pleasant city was delivered on the fourth of September, which was within fourteen or sixteen days after prince Maurice came thither, into the king's protection, after it had suffered no other distress, or impression from the besiegers, than the being kept from taking the air without their own walls, and from being supplied from the country markets.

There was an accident fell out a little before this time, that gave new argument of trouble to the king, upon a difference between prince Maurice and the marquis. The earl of Carnarvon, who was general of the horse of the western army, had marched from Bristol the day before the prince, and had taken Dorchester and Weymouth, before

his highness came up to the army, both considerable places, and the seats of great malignity. The former was not thought necessary to be made a garrison; but the latter was the best port town of that country, and to be kept with great care. The marquis had made some promise of the government thereof, when it should be taken, (of which they made no doubt,) to sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, a young gentleman of that country, of a fair and plentiful fortune, and one, who, in the opinion of most men, was like to advance the place by being governor of it, and to raise men for the defence of it, without lessening the army; and had, in expectation of it, made some provision of officers and soldiers, when it should be time to call them together. Prince Maurice, on the other side, had some other person in his view, upon whom he intended to confer that charge, when it should fall. In the moment that the town was taken, and before the prince came thither, sir Anthony, hearing that the marquis came not with the army, but remained some time at Bristol, made all the haste he could to him, and came thither the same day the king left it; and applied himself to the marquis, who remembered his promise, and thought himself obliged to make it good, and that it was in his power so to do, since it appeared, that the town was taken before the king had declared to him, that he should not go to the army; till when he ought to be looked upon as general of it. He conferred with the chancellor [of the exchequer] upon it, as a matter in which his honour was concerned, and on which his heart was set. And sir Anthony came likewise to him, who was of his ac-

quaintance, and desired his assistance, "that, after "so much charge he had been put to, in the ex- "pectation of it, and to prepare for it, he might "not be exposed to the mirth and contempt of the "country." It was evident, that if he returned with the commission from the marquis, (which he was most inclined to give him,) both he and the commission would be affronted, and the town would not be suffered to submit to him. Therefore the chancellor was of opinion, that there was no way but to appeal to the king, and desire his favour, as well as his justice, in giving his commission to the person designed by the marquis; which would remove that part of the exception, which would most trouble the prince; and he offered to write himself very earnestly to the king. And besides his desire to gratify the marquis, he did in truth believe it of great importance to his majesty's service, to engage a person of such a fortune and interest, so throughly in his quarrel, as he then believed such an obligation must needs do; the flexibility and instability of that gentleman's nature not being then understood, or suspected.

He did write, with all the skill and importunity he could use, to the king; and wrote to the lord Falkland, "to take sir John Colepepper with him, "if he found any aversion in the king, that they "might together discourse, and prevail with him." But his majesty positively and obstinately refused to grant it; and said, "he would not, to please "the marquis in an unjust pretence, put a public "disobligation and affront upon his nephew." So the express returned without effect, and the mar-

quis was as sensibly touched as could be imagined; and said, "that he was fallen from any degree of "credit with the king, and was made incapable of "doing him farther service; that his fidelity should "never be lessened towards him," (as in truth he was incapable of a disloyal thought,) "but since he "was become so totally useless to the king, and to "his friends, he hoped his majesty would give him "leave to retire to his own house; where, he "doubted not, he should be suffered to live pri-"vately and quietly, to pray for the king." The chancellor knew well the nature of the marquis, which would never give him leave to pursue any resolution which he found might prove inconvenient to his majesty, for whom he had all possible duty; yet he knew too, that the mischief was not small, from the observation that the marquis thought himself ill used, and that there were too many who would take the opportunity to foment those jealousies and discontents; and therefore resolved (having despatched all things which were incumbent on him at Bristol, and used all freedom to the marquis, for the dispelling all troublesome imaginations) to go himself to the king, and to represent that affair to him, and the probable consequences of it, with new instances. And at last, with very great difficulty, he did so far prevail with his majesty, that he gave a commission to sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, to be governor of Weymouth; which he was the more easily persuaded to, out of some prejudice he had to the person, who, he understood, was designed to that government. However, the marquis received it as a seasonable act of favour to himself,

and, in a short time after, came from Bristol to Oxford, to attend upon his majesty according to his command.

At Gloucester the business proceeded very slowly: for though the army increased wonderfully there, by the access of forces from all quarters, yet the king had neither money nor materials requisite for a siege, and they in the town behaved themselves with great courage and resolution, and made many sharp and bold sallies upon the king's forces, and did more hurt commonly than they received; and many officers of name, besides common soldiers, were slain in the trenches and approaches; the governor leaving nothing unperformed that became a vigilant commander. Sometimes, upon the sallies, the horse got between the town and them, so that many prisoners were taken, who were always drunk; and, after they were recovered, they confessed, "that the governor always gave the party "that made the sally, as much wine and strong "water as they desired to drink:" so that it seems their mettle was not purely natural; yet it is very observable, that, in all the time the king lay there with a very glorious army, and after the taking of a city of much greater name, there was no one officer run from the town to him, nor above three common soldiers, which is a great argument, the discipline within was very good. Besides the loss of men before the town, both from the walls, and by sickness, (which was not greater than was to be reasonably expected,) a very great license broke into the army, both among officers and soldiers; the malignity of those parts being thought excuse for the exercise of any rapine, or severity among the

inhabitants. Insomuch as it is hardly to be credited, how many thousand sheep were in a few days destroyed, besides what were brought in by the commissaries for a regular provision; and many countrymen imprisoned by officers without warrant, or the least knowledge of the king's, till they had paid good sums of money, for their delinquency; all which brought great clamour upon the discipline of the army, and justice of the officers, and made them likewise less prepared for the service they were to expect.

In the mean time nothing was left at London unattempted, that might advance the preparation for the relief of Gloucester. All overtures of peace were suppressed, and the city purely at the devotion of those who were most violent, who had put one compliment upon them at this time, that is not to be passed over. It is remembered before, that, at the beginning of these distractions, before the king's going into the north, his majesty had, upon the reiterated importunity of the two houses, made sir John Coniers lieutenant of the Tower of London; who was a soldier of very good estimation, and had been the lieutenant general of his horse in that last preparation against the Scots, and governor of Berwick. The parliament thought, by this obligation, to have made him their own creature, and desired to have engaged him in some active command in their armies, having the reputation of one of the best officers of horse of that time. But he warily declined that engagement, and contained himself within the limits of that place, which, by the multitude of prisoners, sent to the Tower by the two houses, and the ex-

cessive fees they paid, yielded him a vast profit; in the administration whereof he was so impartial, that those prisoners who suffered most for his majesty, found no more favour or indulgence from him than the rest. About this time, either discerning that they grew to confide less in him than they had done, and that he must engage himself in their service, or should shortly lose the benefit of their good opinion, or really abhorring to be so near those actions he saw every day committed, and to lie under the scandal of keeping his majesty's only fort which he could not apply to his service, he desired leave from the houses, "to go into "Holland," where his education had been, and his fortune was, without obliging himself to a time of return. The proposition was not unwelcome to the houses; and thereupon they immediately committed that charge, the custody of the Tower of London, to the lord mayor Pennington; that the city might see they were trusted to hold their own reins, and had a jurisdiction committed to them which had always justled with their own. And this compliment served to a double purpose; for thereby, as they made the city believe they had put themselves under their protection, so they were sure they had put the city under the power, or under the apprehension of the power of him, who would never forsake them out of an appetite to peace.

The earl of Essex now declared, that he would himself undertake the relief of Gloucester, whereas before sir William Waller was designed to it, and, whencesoever it proceeded, was returned to his old full alacrity against the king, and recovered those officers and soldiers again to him, who had absented

by his connivance, or upon an opinion that he would march no more; yet his numbers increased not so fast as the occasion required: for colonel Massy found means to send many messengers out of the town, to advertise the straits he was in, and the time that he should be able to hold out. Their ordinance of pressing, though executed with unusual rigour, insomuch as persons of good fortunes, who had retired to London, that they might be less taken notice of, were seized on, and detained in custody, till they paid so much money, or procured an able man to go in their places, brought not in such a supply as they expected; and such as were brought in, and delivered to the officers, declared such an averseness to the work to which they were designed, and such a peremptory resolution not to fight, that they only increased their numbers, not their strength, and run away upon the first opportunity. In the end, they had no other resort for men, but to those who had so constantly supplied them with money, and prevailed with their true friends, the city, which they still alarmed with the king's irreconcilableness to them, to send three or four of their trained-band regiments, or auxiliaries, to fight with the enemy at that distance, rather than to expect him at their own walls, where they must be assured to see him as soon as Gloucester should be reduced; and then they would be as much perplexed with the malignants within, as with the enemy without their city.

Upon such arguments, and the power of the earl of Essex, so many regiments of horse and foot as he desired were assigned to march with him; and so, towards the end of August, he marched out of

London; and having appointed a rendezvous near Aylesbury, where he was met by the lord Grey, and other forces of the associated counties, from thence he marched by easy journeys towards Gloucester, with an army of about eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse. It would not at first be credited at the leaguer, that the earl of Essex could be in a condition to attempt such a work; and therefore they were too negligent upon the intelligence, and suspected rather that he would give some alarm to Oxford, where the queen was, and thereby hope to draw the army from Gloucester, than that in truth he would venture upon so tedious a march, where he must march over a campaign near thirty miles in length, where half the king's body of horse would distress, if not destroy his whole army, and through a country eaten bare, where he could find neither provision for man nor horse; and if he should, without interruption, be suffered to go into Gloucester, he could neither stay there, nor possibly retire to London, without being destroyed in the rear by the king's army, which should nevertheless not engage itself in the hazard of a battle. Upon these conclusions they proceeded in their works before Gloucester, their galleries being near finished, and visibly a great want of ammunition in the town; yet the lord Wilmot was appointed, with a good party of horse, to wait about Banbury, and to retire before the enemy, if he should advance towards Gloucester, and to give such impediments to their march, as in such a country might be easy to do; prince Rupert himself staying with the body of horse, upon the hills

above Gloucester, to join, if the earl of Essex should be so hardy as to venture.

The earl came to Brackley, and having there taken in from Leicester and Bedford, the last recruits upon which he depended, he marched steadily over all that campaign, which they thought he feared, towards Gloucester; and though the king's horse were often within view, and entertained him with light skirmishes, he pursued his direct way; the king's horse still retiring before him, till the foot was compelled to raise the siege, in more disorder and distraction than might have been expected; and so with less loss, and easier skirmishes, than can be imagined, the earl, with his army and train, marched to Gloucester; where he found them reduced to one single barrel of powder; and all other provisions answerable. And it must be confessed, that governor gave a stop to the career of the king's good success, and from his pertinacious defence of that place, the parliament had time to recover their broken forces, and more broken spirits; and may acknowledge to this rise the greatness to which they afterwards aspired.

The earl of Essex stayed in that joyful town (where he was received with all possible demonstrations of honour) three days; and in that time, which was as wonderful as any part of the story, caused all necessary provisions to be brought in to them, out of those very quarters in which the king's army had been sustained, and which they conceived to be entirely spent: so solicitous were the people to conceal what they had, and to reserve it for them; which, without a connivance from the

king's commissaries, could not have been done. All this time the king lay at Sudley castle, the house of the lord Chandois, within eight miles of Gloucester, watching when that army would return; which, they conceived, stayed rather out of despair than election, in those eaten quarters; and, to open them a way for their retreat, his majesty removed to Esham, hoping the earl would choose to go back the same way he came; which, for many reasons, was to be desired; and thereupon the earl marched to Tewkesbury, as if he had no other purpose. The king's horse, though bold, and vigorous upon action and execution, were always less patient of duty and ill accommodation than they should be; and at this time, partly with weariness, and partly with the indisposition that possessed the whole army upon this relief of the town, were less vigilant towards the motion of the enemy: so that the earl of Essex was marched with his whole army and train from Tewkesbury, four and twenty hours before the king heard which way he was gone: for he took the advantage of a dark night, and having sure guides, reached Cirencester before the breaking of the day; where he found two regiments of the king's horse quartered securely; all which, by the neglig nce of the officers, (a common and fatal crime throughout the war, on the king's part,) he surprised, to the number of above three hundred; and, which was of much greater value, he found there a great quantity of provisions, prepared, by the king's commissaries, for the army before Gloucester, and which they neglected to remove after the siege was raised, and so most sottishly left it for the relief of the enemy, far more apprehensive of hunger than of

the sword; and indeed this wonderful supply strangely exalted their spirits, as sent by the special care and extraordinary hand of Providence, even when they were ready to faint.

From hence the earl, having no farther apprehension of the king's horse, which he had no mind to encounter upon the open campaign, and being at the least twenty miles before him, by easy marches, that his sick and wearied soldiers might overtake him, moved, through that deep and enclosed county of North Wiltshire, his direct way to London. As soon as the king had sure notice which way the enemy was gone, he endeavoured, by expedition and diligence, to recover the advantage, which the supine negligence of those he trusted had robbed him of; and himself, with matchless industry, taking care to lead up the foot, prince Rupert, with near five thousand horse, marched day and night over the hills, to get between London and the enemy before they should be able to get out of those enclosed deep countries, in which they were engaged between narrow lanes, and to entertain them with skirmishes till the whole army should come up. This design, pursued and executed with indefatigable pains, succeeded to his wish; for when the van of the enemy's army had almost marched over Awborne Chase, intending that night to have reached Newbury, prince Rupert, besides their fear or expectation, appeared with a strong body of horse, so near them, that before they could put themselves in order to receive him, he charged their rear, and routed them with good execution; and though the enemy performed the parts of good men, and applied themselves more dexterously to

the relief of each other, than on so sudden and unlooked for an occasion was expected, yet with some difficulty, and the loss of many men, they were glad to shorten their journey, and the night coming on, took up their quarters at Hungerford.

In this conflict, which was very sharp for an hour or two, many fell of the enemy, and of the king's party none of name, but the marquis of Vieu Ville, a gallant gentleman of the French nation, who had attended the queen out of Holland, and put himself as a volunteer upon this action, into the lord Jermyn's regiment. There were hurt many officers, and among those the lord Jermyn received a shot in his arm with a pistol; owing the preservation of his life from other shots to the excellent temper of his arms; and the lord Digby a strange hurt in the face, a pistol being discharged at so near a distance upon him, that the powder fetched much blood from his face, and for the present blinded him, without farther mischief; by which it was concluded, that the bullet had dropped out before the pistol was discharged: and may be reckoned among one of those escapes, of which that gallant person hath passed a greater number, in the course of his life, than any man I know.

By this expedition of prince Rupert, the enemy was forced to such delay, that the king came up with his foot and train, though his numbers, by his exceeding long and quick marches, and the license which many officers and soldiers took whilst the king lay at Esham, were much lessened, being above two thousand fewer, than when he raised his siege from Gloucester. And when the earl, the next day, advanced from Hungerford, hoping to

recover Newbury, which prince Rupert with his horse would not be able to hinder him from; when he came within two miles of the town, he found the king possessed of it; for his majesty, with his whole army, was come thither two hours before: this put him to a necessity of staying upon the field that night; it being now the seventeenth day of September.

It was now thought by many, that the king had recovered whatsoever had been lost by former oversights, omissions, or neglects, and that by the destroying the army which had relieved Gloucester, he should be fully recompensed for being disappointed of that purchase. He seemed to be possessed of all advantages to be desired, a good town to refresh his men in, whilst the enemy lodged in the field, his own quarters to friend, and his garrison of Wallingford at hand, and Oxford itself within distance for supply of whatsoever should be wanting; when the enemy was equally tired with long marches, and from the time that the prince had attacked them, the day before, had stood in their arms, in a country where they could not find victual. So that it was conceived, that it was in the king's power, whether he would fight or no, and therefore that he might compel them to notable disadvantages, who must make their way through, or starve; and this was so fully understood, that it was resolved over night, not to engage in battle, but upon such grounds as should give an assurance of victory. But, contrary to this resolution, when the earl of Essex had, with excellent conduct, drawn out his army in battalia, upon a hill called Bigg's Hill, within less than a mile of the town,

and ordered his men in all places to the best advantage, by the precipitate courage of some young officers, who had good commands, and who unhappily always undervalued the courage of the enemy, strong parties became successively so far engaged, that the king was compelled to put the whole to the hazard of a battle, and to give the enemy at least an equal game to play.

It was disputed, on all parts, with great fierceness and courage; the enemy preserving good order, and standing rather to keep the ground they were upon, than to get more; by which they did not expose themselves to those disadvantages, which any motion would have offered to the assailants. The king's horse, with a kind of contempt of the enemy, charged with wonderful boldness, upon all grounds of inequality; and were so far too hard for the troops of the other side, that they routed them in most places, till they had left the greatest part of their foot without any guard at all of horse. But then the foot behaved themselves admirably on the enemy's part, and gave their scattered horse time to rally, and were ready to assist and secure them upon all occasions. The London trained bands, and auxiliary regiments, (of whose inexperience of danger, or any kind of service, beyond the easy practice of their postures in the Artillery Garden, men had till then too cheap an estimation,) behaved themselves to wonder; and were, in truth, the preservation of that army that day. For they stood as a bulwark and rampire to defend the rest; and when their wings of horse were scattered and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily, that, though prince Rupert himself led up

the choice horse to charge them, and endured their storm of small shot, he could make no impression upon their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about: of so sovereign benefit and use is that readiness, order, and dexterity in the use of their arms, which hath been so much neglected.

It was fought all that day without any such notable turn, as that either party could think they had much the better. For though the king's horse made the enemy's often give ground, yet the foot were so immoveable, that little was gotten by the other; and the first entrance into the battle was so sudden, and without order, that, during the whole day, no use was made of the king's cannon, though that of the enemy was placed so unhappily, that it did very great execution upon the king's party, both horse and foot. The night parted them, when nothing else could; and each party had then time to revolve the oversights of the day. The enemy had fared at least as well as they hoped for; and therefore, in the morning early, they put themselves in order of marching, having an obligation in necessity to gain some place, in which they might eat and sleep. On the king's side there was not that caution which should have been the day before; and though the number of the slain was not so great, as, in so hot a day, might have been looked for, yet very many officers and gentlemen were hurt: so that they rather chose to take advantage of the enemy's motion, than to charge them again upon the old ground, from whence they had been, by order, called off the night before, when they had recovered a post, the keeping of which would much have prejudiced the adversary.

The earl of Essex finding his way open, pursued his main design of returning to London, and took that way by Newbury, which led towards Reading; which prince Rupert observing, suffered him, without interruption or disturbance, to pass, till his whole army was entered into the narrow lanes; and then with a strong party of horse, and one thousand musketeers, followed his rear with so good effect, that he put them into great disorder, and killed many, and took many prisoners. However the earl, with the gross of his army, and all his cannon, got safe into Reading; and, after a night or two spent there to refresh and rest his men, he moved in a slow and orderly march to London, leaving Reading to the king's forces: which was presently possessed by sir Jacob Ashley, with three thousand foot and five hundred horse, and made again a garrison for the king: his majesty and prince Rupert, with the remainder of the army, retiring to Oxford, and leaving a garrison under the command of colonel Boys in Donnington castle (a house of John Packer's, but more famous for having been the seat of Geoffery Chaucer, within a mile of Newbury) to command the great road, through which the western trade was driven to London.

At this time sir William Waller was at Windsor, with above two thousand horse, and as many foot, as unconcerned for what might befall the earl of Essex, as he had formerly been on his behalf at Roundway hill: otherwise, if he had advanced upon the king to Newbury (which was not above twenty miles) when the earl was on the other side, the king had been in great danger of an utter

defeat; and the apprehension of this was the reason, or was afterwards pretended to be, for the hasty engagement in battle.

The earl of Essex was received at London with all imaginable demonstrations of affection and reverence; public and solemn thanksgiving was appointed for his victory, for such they made no scruple to declare it. Without doubt, the action was performed by him with incomparable conduct and courage; in every part whereof very much was to be imputed to his own personal virtue; and it may be well reckoned among the most soldierly actions of this unhappy war. For he did the business he undertook, and, after the relief of Gloucester, his next care was to retire with his army to London; which, considering the length of the way, and the difficulties he was to contend with, he did with less loss than could be expected; on the other hand, the king was not without some signs of a victory. He had followed, and compelled the enemy to fight, by overtaking him, when he desired to avoid it. He had the spoil of the field, and pursued the enemy the next day after the battle, and had a good execution upon them, without receiving any loss; and, which seemed to crown the work, fixed a garrison again at Reading, and thereby straitened their quarters as much [as they were] in the beginning of the year; his own being enlarged by the almost entire conquest of the west, and his army much stronger, in horse and foot, than when he first took the field. On which side soever the marks and public ensigns of victory appeared most conspicuous, certain it is, that, according to the unequal fate that at-

tended all skirmishes and conflicts with such an adversary, the loss on the king's side was in weight much more considerable and penetrating; for whilst some obscure, unheard of colonel or officer was missing on the enemy's side, and some citizen's wife bewailed the loss of her husband, there were, on the other, above twenty officers of the field, and persons of honour, and public name, slain upon the place, and more of the same quality hurt.

Here fell the earl of Sunderland, a lord of great fortune, tender years, (being not above three and twenty years of age,) and an early judgment; who, having no command in the army, attended upon the king's person, under the obligation of honour; and putting himself that day in the king's troop a volunteer, before they came to charge, was taken away by a cannon bullet.

This day also fell the earl of Carnarvon, who, after he had charged, and routed a body of the enemy's horse, coming carelessly back by some of the scattered troopers, was, by one of them who knew him, run through the body with a sword; of which he died within an hour. He was a person, with whose great parts and virtue the world was not enough acquainted. Before the war, though his education was adorned by travel, and an exact observation of the manners of more nations, than our common travellers use to visit, (for he had, after the view of Spain, France, and most parts of Italy, spent some time in Turkey, and those eastern countries,) he seemed to be wholly delighted with those looser exercises of pleasure, hunting, hawking, and the like; in which the nobility of that time too

much delighted to excel. After the troubles begun, having the command of the first or second regiment of horse, that was raised for the king's service, he wholly gave himself up to the office and duty of a soldier; no man more diligently obeying, or more dexterously commanding; for he was not only of a very keen courage in the exposing his person, but an excellent discerner and pursuer of advantage upon his enemy; and he had a mind and understanding very present in the article of danger, which is a rare benefit in that profession. Those infirmities, and that license, which he had formerly indulged to himself, he put off with severity, when others thought them excusable under the notion of a soldier. He was a great lover of justice, and practised it then most deliberately, when he had power to do wrong: and so strict in the observation of his word and promise as a commander, that he could not be persuaded to stay in the west, when he found it not in his power to perform the agreement he had made with Dorchester and Weymouth. If he had lived, he would have proved a great ornament to that profession, and an excellent soldier, and by his death the king found a sensible weakness in his army.

But I must here take leave a little longer to discontinue this narration: and if the celebrating the memory of eminent and extraordinary persons, and transmitting their great virtues, for the imitation of posterity, be one of the principal ends and duties of history, it will not be thought impertinent, in this place, to remember a loss which no time will suffer to be forgotten, and no success or

good fortune could repair. In this unhappy battle was slain the lord viscount Falkland; a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war, than that single loss, it must be most infamous, and execrable to all posterity.

Turpe mori, post te, solo non posse dolore.

Before this parliament, his condition of life was so happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to twenty years of age, he was master of a noble fortune, which descended to him by the gift of a grandfather, without passing through his father or mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented to find themselves passed by in the descent. His education for some years had been in Ireland, where his father was lord deputy; so that, when he returned into England, to the possession of his fortune, he was unentangled with any acquaintance or friends, which usually grow up by the custom of conversation; and therefore was to make a pure election of his company; which he chose by other rules than were prescribed to the young nobility of that time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted some few to his friendship for the agreeableness of their natures, and their undoubted affection to him, that his familiarity and friendship, for the most part, was with men of the most eminent and sublime parts, and of untouched reputation in

point of integrity; and such men had a title to his bosom.

He was a great cherisher of wit, and fancy, and good parts in any man; and, if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a most liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune; of which, in those administrations, he was such a dispenser, as, if he had been trusted with it to such uses, and if there had been the least of vice in his expense, he might have been thought too prodigal. He was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolved to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were necessary to that end. And therefore having once resolved not to see London, which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek tongue, he went to his own house in the country, and pursued it with that indefatigable industry, that it will not be believed in how short a time he was master of it, and accurately read all the Greek historians.

In this time, his house being within ten miles of Oxford, he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men of that university; who found such an immenseness of wit, and such a solidity of judgment in him, so infinite a fancy, bound in by a most logical ratiocination, such a vast knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive humility, as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted, and dwelt with him, as in a college situated in a purer air; so that his house was a university in a less volume; whither they came not so much for repose as study; and to exa-

mine and refine those grosser propositions, which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation.

Many attempts were made upon him by the instigation of his mother (who was a lady of another persuasion in religion, and of a most masculine understanding, allayed with the passion and infirmities of her own sex) to pervert him in his piety to the church of England, and to reconcile him to that of Rome; which they prosecuted with the more confidence, because he declined no opportunity or occasion of conference with those of that religion, whether priests or laics; having diligently studied the controversies, and exactly read all, or the choicest of the Greek and Latin fathers, and having a memory so stupendous, that he remembered, on all occasions, whatsoever he read. And he was so great an enemy to that passion and uncharitableness, which he saw produced, by difference of opinion, in matters of religion, that in all those disputations with priests, and others of the Roman church, he affected to manifest all possible civility to their persons, and estimation of their parts; which made them retain still some hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reasons to him to that purpose. But this charity towards them was much lessened, and any correspondence with them quite declined, when, by sinister arts, they had corrupted his two younger brothers, being both children, and stolen them from his house, and transported them beyond eas, and perverted his sisters: upon which occasion he writ two large discourses against the principal positions of that religion, with that sharpness

of style, and full weight of reason, that the church is deprived of great jewels in the concealment of them, and that they are not published to the world.'

He was superior to all those passions and affections which attend vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a lover of all good men; and that made him too much a contemner of those arts, which must be indulged in the transactions of human affairs. In the last short parliament, he was a burgess in the house of commons; and, from the debates which were then managed with all imaginable gravity and sobriety, he contracted such a reverence to parliaments, that he thought it really impossible they could ever produce mischief or inconvenience to the kingdom; or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them. And from the unhappy and unseasonable dissolution of that convention, he harboured, it may be, some jealousy and prejudice to the court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined; his father having wasted a full fortune there, in those offices and employments by which other men use to obtain a greater. He was chosen again this parliament to serve in the same place, and, in the beginning of it, declared himself very sharply and severely against those exorbitancies, which had been most grievous to the state; for he was so rigid an observer of established laws and rules, that he could not endure the least breach or deviation from them; and thought no mischief so intolerable as the presumption of ministers of state to break positive rules, for reasons of state;

or judges to transgress known laws, upon the title of conveniency, or necessity; which made him so severe against the earl of Strafford and the lord Finch, contrary to his natural gentleness and temper: insomuch as they who did not know his composition to be as free from revenge, as it was from pride, thought that the sharpness to the former might proceed from the memory of some unkindnesses, not without a mixture of injustice, from him towards his father. But without doubt he was free from those temptations, and was only misled by the authority of those, who, he believed, understood the laws perfectly; of which himself was utterly ignorant; and if the assumption, which was scarce controverted, had been true, "that an "endeavour to overthrow the fundamental laws of "the kingdom had been treason," a strict understanding might make reasonable conclusions to satisfy his own judgment, from the exorbitant parts of their several charges.

The great opinion he had of the uprightness and integrity of those persons who appeared most active, especially of Mr. Hambden, kept him longer from suspecting any design against the peace of the kingdom; and though he differed from them commonly in conclusions, he believed long their purposes were honest. When he grew better informed what was law, and discerned in them a desire to control that law by a vote of one or both houses, no man more opposed those attempts, and gave the adverse party more trouble by reason and argumentation; insomuch as he was, by degrees, looked upon as an advocate for the court, to which he contributed so little, that he declined those addresses, and even

those invitations which he was obliged almost by civility to entertain. And he was so jealous of the least imagination that he should incline to preferment, that he affected even a morosity to the court, and to the courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent and divert the king's or queen's favour towards him, but the deserving it. For when the king sent for him once or twice to speak with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent comportment in those councils, which his majesty graciously termed "doing him service," his answers were more negligent, and less satisfactory, than might be expected; as if he cared only that his actions should be just, not that they should be acceptable, and that his majesty should think that they proceeded only from the impulsion of conscience, without any sympathy in his affections; which, from a stoical and sullen nature, might not have been misinterpreted; yet, from a person of so perfect a habit of generous and obsequious compliance with all good men, might very well have been interpreted by the king as more than an ordinary averseness to his service: so that he took more pains, and more forced his nature to actions unagreeable, and unpleasant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the court, than most men have done to procure an office there. And if any thing but not doing his duty could have kept him from receiving a testimony of the king's grace and trust at that time, he had not been called to his council; not that he was in truth averse to the court or from receiving public employment; for he had a great devotion to the king's person, and had before used some small endeavour to be recom-

mended to him for a foreign negociation, and had once a desire to be sent ambassador into France; but he abhorred an imagination or doubt should sink into the thoughts of any man, that, in the discharge of his trust and duty in parliament, he had any bias to the court, or that the king himself should apprehend that he looked for a reward for being honest.

For this reason, when he heard it first whispered, "that the king had a purpose to make him a "counsellor," for which there was, in the beginning, no other ground, but because he was known sufficient, (*haud semper errat fama, aliquando et eligit,*) he resolved to decline it; and at last suffered himself only to be overruled, by the advice and persuasions of his friends, to submit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the king intended to make him secretary of state, he was positive to refuse it; declaring to his friends, "that he was "most unfit for it, and that he must either do that "which would be great disquiet to his own nature, "or leave that undone which was most necessary "to be done by one that was honoured with that "place; for that the most just and honest men "did, every day, that which he could not give "himself leave to do." And indeed he was so exact and strict an observer of justice and truth, *ad amussim*, that he believed those necessary condescensions and applications to the weakness of other men, and those arts and insinuations which are necessary for discoveries, and prevention of ill, would be in him a declension from his own rules of life: which he acknowledged fit, and absolutely necessary to be practised in those employments;

and was, in truth, so precise in the practic principles he prescribed to himself, (to all others he was as indulgent,) as if he had lived *in republica Platonis, non in fæce Romuli.*

Two reasons prevailed with him to receive the seals, and but for those he had resolutely avoided them. The first, the consideration that it [his refusal] might bring some blemish upon the king's affairs, and that men would have believed, that he had refused so great an honour and trust, because he must have been with it obliged to do somewhat else not justifiable. And this he made matter of conscience, since he knew the king made choice of him, before other men, especially because he thought him more honest than other men. The other was, lest he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the house of commons, who were sorely troubled at the displacing sir Harry Vane, whom they looked upon as removed for having done them those offices they stood in need of; and the disdain of so popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other. For as he had a full appetite of fame by just and generous actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients: and he so much the more consented to and approved the justice upon sir Harry Vane, in his own private judgment, by how much he surpassed most men in the religious observation of a trust, the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuse for.

For these reasons, he submitted to the king's command, and became his secretary, with as humble and devout an acknowledgment of the greatness of the obligation, as could be expressed, and

as true a sense of it in his heart. Yet two things he could never bring himself to, whilst he continued in that office, that was to his death; for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omissions in a most necessary part of his place. The one, employing of spies, or giving any countenance or entertainment to them. I do not mean such emissaries, as with danger would venture to view the enemy's camp, and bring intelligence of their number, or quartering, or such generals as such an observation can comprehend; but those, who by communication of guilt, or dissimulation of manners, wound themselves into such trusts and secrets, as enabled them to make discoveries for the benefit of the state. The other, the liberty of opening letters, upon a suspicion that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence. For the first, he would say, "such instruments "must be void of all ingenuity, and common "honesty, before they could be of use; and after-"wards they could never be fit to be credited: and "that no single preservation could be worth so "general a wound, and corruption of human so-"ciety, as the cherishing such persons would carry "with it." The last, he thought "such a violation "of the law of nature, that no qualification by "office could justify a single person in the tres-"pass;" and though he was convinced by the necessity, and iniquity of the time, that those advantages of information were not to be declined, and were necessarily to be practised, he found means to shift it from himself; when he confessed he needed excuse and pardon for the omission: so

unwilling he was to resign any thing in his nature to an obligation in his office.

In all other particulars he filled his place plentifully, being sufficiently versed in languages, to understand any that are used in business, and to make himself again understood. To speak of his integrity, and his high disdain of any bait that might seem to look towards corruption, *in tanto viro, injuria virtutum fuerit.* Some sharp expressions he used against the archbishop of Canterbury, and his concurring in the first bill to take away the votes of bishops in the house of peers, gave occasion to some to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude, and publish, "that he was no friend "to the church, and the established government of "it;" and troubled his very friends much, who were more confident of the contrary, than prepared to answer the allegations.

The truth is, he had unhappily contracted some prejudice to the archbishop; and having only known him enough to observe his passion, when, it may be, multiplicity of business, or other indisposition, had possessed him, did wish him less entangled and engaged in the business of the court, or state: though, I speak it knowingly, he had a singular estimation and reverence of his great learning, and confessed integrity; and really thought his letting himself to those expressions, which implied a disesteem of him, or at least an acknowledgment of his infirmities, would enable him to shelter him from part of the storm he saw raised for his destruction; which he abominated with his soul.

The giving his consent to the first bill for the displacing the bishops, did proceed from two grounds: the first, his not understanding the original of their right and suffrage there: the other, an opinion, that the combination against the whole government of the church by bishops, was so violent and furious, that a less composition than the dispensing with their intermeddling in secular affairs, would not preserve the order. And he was persuaded to this by the profession of many persons of honour, who declared, "they did desire the "one, and would not then press the other;" which, in that particular, misled many men. But when his observation and experience made him discern more of their intentions, than he before suspected, with great frankness he opposed the second bill that was preferred for that purpose; and had, without scruple, the order itself in perfect reverence; and thought too great encouragement could not possibly be given to learning, nor too great rewards to learned men; and was never in the least degree swayed or moved by the objections which were made against that government, (holding them most ridiculous,) or affected to the other, which those men fancied to themselves.

He had a courage of the most clear and keen temper, and so far from fear, that he was not without appetite of danger; and therefore, upon any occasion of action, he always engaged his person in those troops, which he thought, by the forwardness of the commanders, to be most like to be farthest engaged; and in all such encounters he had about him a strange cheerfulness and companiableness, without at all affecting the execution

that was then principally to be attended, in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it, where it was not, by resistance, necessary: insomuch that at Edge-hill, when the enemy was routed, he was like to have incurred great peril, by interposing to save those who had thrown away their arms, and against whom, it may be, others were more fierce for their having thrown them away: insomuch as a man might think, he came into the field only out of curiosity to see the face of danger, and charity to prevent the shedding of blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profession of a soldier; and shortly after he came to his fortune, and before he came to age, he went into the Low Countries, with a resolution of procuring command, and to give himself up to it, from which he was converted by the complete inactivity of that summer: and so he returned into England, and shortly after entered upon that vehement course of study we mentioned before, till the first alarum from the north; and then again he made ready for the field, and though he received some repulse in the command of a troop of horse, of which he had a promise, he went a volunteer with the earl of Essex.

From the entrance into this unnatural war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to; yet being one of those who believed that one battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a victory on one side, that the other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the

victor, (which supposition and conclusion generally sunk into the minds of most men, and prevented the looking after many advantages, that might then have been laid hold of,) he resisted those indispositions, *et in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat.* But after the king's return from Brentford, and the furious resolution of the two houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness; and he, who had been so exactly unreserved and affable to all men, that his face and countenance was always present, and vacant to his company, and held any cloudiness, and less pleasantness of the visage, a kind of rudeness or incivility, became, on a sudden, less communicable; and thence, very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had intended before always with more neatness, and industry, and expense, than is usual to so great a mind, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of suitors, and the necessary or casual addresses to his place, so quick, and sharp, and severe, that there wanted not some men, (who were strangers to his nature and disposition,) who believed him proud and imperious, from which no mortal man was ever more free.

The truth is, that as he was of a most incomparable gentleness, application, and even demissiveness and submission to good, and worthy, and entire men, so he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his place, which objected him to another conversation and intermixture, than his own election had done) *adversus malos*

injucundus; and was so ill a dissembler of his dislike and disinclination to ill men, that it was not possible for such not to discern it. There was once, in the house of commons, such a declared acceptation of the good service an eminent member had done to them, and, as they said, to the whole kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, "that the speaker might, in the name of the "whole house, give him thanks; and then, that "every member might, as a testimony of his par-"ticular acknowledgment, stir or move his hat "towards him;" the which (though not ordered) when very many did, the lord Falkland, (who believed the service itself not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous person could not have stooped to it for any recompense,) instead of moving his hat, stretched both his arms out, and clasped his hands together upon the crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head; that all men might see, how odious that flattery was to him, and the very approbation of the person, though at that time most popular.

When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace, Peace;* and would passionately profess, "that the very agony of the war, and the view of "the calamities and desolation the kingdom did "and must endure, took his sleep from him, and "would shortly break his heart." This made some think, or pretend to think, "that he was so much

"enamoured on peace, that he would have been glad "the king should have bought it at any price;" which was a most unreasonable calumny. As if a man, that was himself the most punctual and precise in every circumstance that might reflect upon conscience or honour, could have wished the king to have committed a trespass against either. And yet this senseless scandal made some impression upon him, or at least he used it for an excuse of the daringness of his spirit; for at the leaguer before Gloucester, when his friends passionately reprehended him for exposing his person unnecessarily to danger, (as he delighted to visit the trenches, and nearest approaches, and to discover what the enemy did,) as being so much beside the duty of his place, that it might be understood against it, he would say merrily, "that his office could not "take away the privileges of his age; and that a "secretary in war might be present at the greatest "secret of danger;" but withal alleged seriously, "that it concerned him to be more active in enter-"prises of hazard, than other men; that all might "see, that his impatiency for peace proceeded not "from pusillanimity, or fear to adventure his own "person."

In the morning before the battle, as always upon action, he was very cheerful, and put himself into the first rank of the lord Byron's regiment, who was then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musketeers; from whence he was shot with a musket in the lower part of the belly, and in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning; till when, there was some hope he might

have been a prisoner; though his nearest friends, who knew his temper, received small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young man, in the four and thirtieth year of his age, having so much despatched the business of life, that the oldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocence: whosoever leads such a life, needs not care upon how short warning it be taken from him.

[Now to go on with the course of our history:] the earl of Essex entered into London on the 25th of September, (a day we shall have occasion to remember upon another solemnity,) and was the next day visited, at Essex house, by the speaker and the whole house of commons, who declared to him, "that they came to congratulate his notable success, and to render the thanks of the kingdom to "him, for his incomparable conduct and courage; "and that they had caused their acknowledgment "to be entered in their journal book, as a monument and record of his virtue, and their gratitude." A day or two after, solemn thanks were rendered to those members of both houses, who had command in the army, and some extraordinary signification of respect derived to the superior officers throughout the army. A gaudy letter of kindness and value was sent to colonel Massy, and, which made the letter of more value, a thousand pounds was sent him as a gratuity or present for his service, over and above what was due to him for his pay, and some largess to all the inferior officers, and a month's pay, over and above their arrears, to the soldiers of that garrison.

Lest the discourse and apprehension of the jealousy between the earl of Essex and sir William Waller might administer hope or suspicion, that some division might grow amongst themselves, and, from thence, that the king might receive any advantage, great care was taken to make, and greater to publish, a reconciliation between them; in which sir William was all submission and humility, and his excellence full of grace and courtesy. The passion and animosity, which difference of opinion had produced between any members, was totally laid aside and forgotten, and no artifice omitted to make the world believe, that they were a people newly incorporated, and as firmly united to one and the same end, as their brethren the Scots; of whose concurrence and assistance they were now assured, and satisfied that it would come soon enough for their preservation; of which they had not before a full confidence.

Though the king's army had all the trophies of victory in and after this battle, (it kept the field, and had the spoil of it; it took some pieces of the enemy's cannon, who marched off in the night, and was pursued with some considerable loss beyond Reading, where a garrison was again placed for his majesty, under the command of sir Jacob Ashley, major general of the army, an excellent officer; so that the parliament was in so much a worse state than they were in the spring, as the loss of Bristol and most of the west amounted to; for by this time Exeter was likewise reduced by prince Maurice,) yet, notwithstanding all this, the earl of Essex, as is said before, was received at London with all imaginable gratulation and triumph; he

had done all that was expected from him, with many circumstances of great soldierly, and notable courage, and the heart and spirit of the parliament was visibly much exalted, and their impatience for peace quite abated.

On the contrary, upon the king's return to Oxford, there appeared nothing but dejection of mind, discontent, and secret mutiny in the army, anger and jealousy among the officers, every one accusing another of want of courage and conduct in the actions of the field; and they who were not of the army, blaming them all for their several failings and gross oversights. The siege of Gloucester was not believed to have been well conducted, and that it might have been taken in half the time they were before it, if it had been skilfully gone about. The not engaging the earl of Essex in all the march over so open a country, was thought unexcusable, and was imputed to the want of courage in Wilmot, whom prince Rupert did in no degree favour: nor was the prince himself without some reproaches, for suffering the earl of Essex, after all the horse was joined, to march down a long steep hill into the vale of Gloucester, without any disturbance; and that the whole army, when it was found necessary to quit the siege, had not been brought to fight in that vale, and at some distance from the town, when the king's men were fresh, and the other side tired with so long a march.

But then all men renewed their execrations against those, who advised the engagement before Gloucester; the officers, who had been present, and consenting to all the counsels, disclaiming, as much as any, the whole design; and all conspired

to lay the whole reproach upon the master of the rolls, who spoke most in those debates, and was not at all gracious to the soldiers; and this clamour against that engagement was so popular and universal, that no man took upon himself to speak in defence of it; though, besides the reasons which have been formerly alleged for it, this last action might well seem to justify it; for since it appeared, that the city was so much united to the parliament, that it supplied their army with such a body of their trained bands, (without which it could never have marched,) with what success could his majesty have approached London, after the taking of Bristol, with his miserable army? and would not the whole body of the trained bands have defended that, when so considerable a part of them could be persuaded to undertake a march of two hundred miles? for less they did not march, from the time they went out, to that in which they returned. But no reason could ever convert those, who looked upon that undertaking at Gloucester, as the ruin of the king's affairs.

The temper of the court was no better than that of the army: and the king was so much troubled with both, that he did not enjoy the quiet his condition required. They who had forborne to be importunate for honours, or offices, because they knew they should not be able to obtain their desires from the king, made their modesty an argument of their merit to the queen; and assured her, "that "they had forborne to ask any thing in her absence, because they had always resolved never to "receive any thing, but by her bounty." Many pretended former promises and engagements for

creations of honour, as soon as any thing should be done of that kind. And it is true enough, that both their majesties had given themselves ease from present importunities, by making promises, with reference to a time, which they imagined, and, at that time, resolved, should not be soon: and now there was no sooner mention of conferring honour upon one or two whom they had a mind to gratify, but the rest, who had that promise, were very importunate and clamorous for the same justice. And by this means they were, upon the matter, compelled to gratify some men to whom they bore no good-will; and so, they who received the favours were no more pleased, than they were who conferred them; and they who were without ambition before, when they saw honours and offices conferred upon men, who, they thought, did not merit them better than themselves, thought their service undervalued if they did not receive the same reward. And it was a usual prologue to suits of that kind, "that they did not desire it out of their "own ambition, but purely to satisfy their friends; "who withdrew their kindness from them, out of "an opinion that they had offended the king, who "would not otherwise put so great a difference "between them and other men." Princes should not confer public rewards in a season when they can only gratify few, and when so many stand upon the same level in pretences, and are apt to feel the preferring of one, as an affront and disobligation to the rest.

There was no particular that gave the king more unquietness, than the presence of my lord of Holland. The three earls [I before mentioned] had

attended the king before he rose from Gloucester, and had waited upon him throughout that march, and had charged the enemy, in the king's regiment of horse, at the battle of Newbury, very bravely; and had behaved themselves, throughout, very well; and returned to Oxford with his majesty; and now expected to be well looked upon: and the other two had no cause to complain; the king, upon all occasions, spoke very graciously to them, and sent the chancellor of the exchequer to the earl of Clare, "that he had liberty, and might be "present at the councils of war;" where the peers usually were, and where the general matters of contribution, and such things as concerned the country, were usually debated. But the earl of Holland was not pleased; he thought nothing of former miscarriages ought to be remembered; that all those were cancelled by the merit of coming to the king now, and bringing such considerable persons with him, and disposing others to follow; and expected, upon his first appearance, to have had his key restored to him; to have been in the same condition he was in the bedchamber, and in the council, and in the king's grace and countenance; of all which he had assurance from the queen before he came, at least from Mr. Jermyn, who, no doubt, did exceed his commission; and the very deferring of this was grievous to him; and the more, because he found the same disrespect from all others, as he had done when he came first to Oxford.

He came frequently in the afternoon to Merton college; where the queen lay, and where the king was for the most part at that time of the day, and

both their majesties looked well upon him, and spake to him in public as occasion was administered. Sometimes the king went aside with him to the window, in the same room, where they spake a quarter or half an hour together, out of the hearing of any body; which the queen did often in the same manner; and Mr. Jermyn, who was about this time made a baron, was very frequently with him. The king was always upon his guard towards him, and did not, in truth, abate any thing of his former rigour or prejudice, and continued firm to his former resolutions. But the queen, whether from her inclination, or promise, or dislike of most other people, who were not so good courtiers, (as sure none was equal to him in that function and mystery,) did in truth heartily desire, that he might receive satisfaction in all things, according to his own desire; and would have trusted him herself as much as formerly: yet she complied so far with the king's aversion, that she yet forbore to press it, or to own the encouragement she had given him; nor had she a willingness to oppose so great a torrent of malice and prejudice, as she saw evidently run against him; so that she appeared not to wish, what without doubt she would have been very glad of. However the marquis of Hertford was now come to Oxford, and expected the performance of the king's promise to him, and to be admitted into the office of groom of the stole; of which the king took not the least notice to him since his return; which made it the more suspected, that the intention was to readmit the old officer; and this apprehension was confirmed by the queen's looking less graciously upon the marquis, than she

had used to do. And it is true, though it may be she did not intend to make any such discovery by her looks, she was not pleased that any such promise was made, both because it was without her consent, and as it crossed what she designed; and much desired that the marquis could have been persuaded to have released it; towards which the lord Jermyn, with some passion, spake to the chancellor of the exchequer, "how unreasonable a "thing it was for the marquis, who was master of "so great a fortune, to affect such a low prefer-"ment, and how generous a thing it would be to "quit his pretence:" but he quickly discovered him not to be willing to engage in any such proposition. All this wonderfully indisposed the [other] lords, and the persons of quality in the town, who did not wish to see the court as it had been, or the queen herself possessed of so absolute a power, as she had been formerly; though they looked upon her person with all duty and reverence.

The earl of Holland did not act his own part with that art and dexterity, which might have been expected from his wisdom and experience; nor had ever made the least apology to the king for any thing he had formerly done; nor appeared to have the least sense that he had committed any error, as his majesty himself declared to those, who he knew were his friends; and said, "that he behaved him-"self with the same confidence and assurance, as "he had done when he was most in his favour; "and that he retained still the old artifice of court, "to be seen to whisper in the king's and queen's "ear, by which people thought there was some "secret, when the matter of those whispers was

" nothing but what might be said in the market;
" so his majesty protested that the earl of Holland
" had several times seemed to desire to say some-
" what in private to him, upon which he had with-
" drawn from the company to the end or corner of
" the room, and, at first, expected and apprehended,
" that he would say somewhat in his own excuse;
" but that he had never then said one word, but
" what he might have spoke in the circle; with
" which," he said, " he was the better pleased;
" and that he believed, he had not been more par-
" ticular with his wife, save that he used to enter-
" tain her with discourses of the wisdom and power
" of the parliament, and what great things they
" would be able to do, and how much they were
" respected in foreign parts; which," his majesty said, " was a strange discourse for a man to make, " who had so lately left them, because he thought " the king's condition to be the better of the " two."

The earl had a friend, who did heartily desire to do him all the offices and services that would consist with the king's honour, and always apprehended the ill consequence of discouraging such revolutions, and who spake often to the earl of his own affairs. And when he complained of his usage, and repeated what promises and encouragement he had received to come to the king, and of what importance his good reception would have been; " that there were many of considerable re-
" putation and interest in the house of commons," (whom he named,) " who intended to have fol-
" lowed, and that the earl of Northumberland
" expected only his advice;" his friend asked him,

" whether he had done all things, since he came to " the king, which might reasonably be expected " from him?" He said, " he thought he had done " all could be expected from him, in bringing him- " self to the king; and, since his coming to him, " in venturing his life for him; and in lieu thereof " he had not received thanks, or one gracious " word; and now, after his office had been kept " unbestowed near two years, and a promise made " to him, that he should be restored to it, it was " to be bestowed upon another, to make his dis- " grace the more notorious; which he thought " would not prove for his majesty's honour or " advantage."

His friend asked him, " whether he had asked it " of the king, or informed him of the promise that " was made to him?" He said, " he had done " neither, nor ever would; he expected it of the " king's grace, and would not extort it by a pro- " mise, which, it might be, his majesty was not " privy to." The other replied very plainly to him, " that if he thought he had never committed " any fault against the king, he had no reason to " acknowledge it, or make excuse for it; but if he " were guilty of any such, how unwarily soever it " had been done, or how unmaliciously soever it " had been intended, he ought to make some con- " fession and apology to his majesty; nor could " his majesty, with the safety of his honour, avow " the receiving him into any trust without it; nor " was he capable of receiving any offices from his " friends, or the queen's own declared interposi- " tion on his behalf, till he had performed that " necessary introduction." He told him, " if he

" would follow his advice, he believed he might " receive some effect of it;" which was, " that he " should send to desire a private audience of his " majesty in some room, where nobody might " be present; which would not be refused him; " and then he should (with all the excuses upon " the terror the parliament gave to all men, who " had exceeded the common rules, in their ad- " ministration of the trust they had from his " majesty; as he could not deny he had done in " many particulars for the advancement of his " majesty's service) confess, that he had not been " hardy enough to contemn that power, but had " been so much in awe of it, that he chose rather " to presume upon his majesty's goodness, than to " provoke their jealousy and displeasure; and so " had complied with them more, than in his duty " and gratitude to his majesty he ought to have " done; for which he begged his pardon upon his " knees; and if he might obtain it, he made no " doubt, he should wipe out the memory of past " offences by some new services, which should be " beneficial to his majesty;" and he told him, " that " he would do very well, if he would sue out his " pardon, as the earl of Bedford had done; who " had asked it of the king when he first kissed his " hand, and had since wisely taken it out under " the great seal of England."

The earl of Holland seemed not at all pleased with this advice; said, " He did not think, though " he would not justify all that he had done, his " transgressions were of that magnitude, that they " required such a formality of asking pardon; that " his case was very different from that of the earl

" of Bedford, who had been in arms, and a general " officer in the field against the king; whereas he " had only sat in the parliament, as lawfully he " might do; and if he had failed in his attend- " ance upon his majesty, and otherwise deserved " his displeasure, he had received so many marks " of it before he deserved it, that might well " transport a very faithful servant into a discon- " tent that would not become him. That as soon " as he found himself restored to any proportion of " his majesty's grace and confidence, his own " inclination would carry him to as humble apolo- " gies, and as deep acknowledgments of all his " transgressions, as could be expected from him, " and such as he believed would reconcile the " king's goodness to him: but to make the first " advance by such a kind of submission, he did " not think he could prevail over himself to do " it." However, he took his advice very kindly, and spoke often with him after upon the same subject.

Being, upon conference with some other friends, advised the same, especially by his daughter, (whom he loved and esteemed exceedingly,) so that he seemed resolved to do it; but whether he thought worse of the king's affairs, or liked the court the less, because he saw the poverty of it, and that whatever place or favour he might obtain, he could not expect a support from it to defray his expenses, (nor could he draw it from any other place,) he delayed it so long, till the king found it reasonable to confer the office he had so long promised, upon the marquis of Hertford; and then withdrawing himself, for his convenience, to a

neighbour village, where he had a private lodging; after a few days, with the help of a dark night and a good guide, he got himself into the enemy's quarters, and laid himself at the feet of the parliament; which, after a short imprisonment, gave him leave to live in his own house, without farther considering him, than as a man able to do little good or harm. And yet he did endeavour to render himself as grateful to them as he could, by an act very unsuitable to his honour, or his own generous nature: for he published a declaration in print of the cause of his going to, and returning from, Oxford; in which he endeavoured to make it believed, "that his compassion and love to his "country had only prevailed with him to go to "the king, in hope to have been able, upon the "long knowledge his majesty had of his fidelity, "to persuade him to make a peace with his par-"liament; which, from the time of his coming "thither, he had laboured to do; but that he "found the court so indisposed to peace, and that "the papists had so great a power there," (using many expressions dishonourable towards the king and his council,) "that he resolved to make what "haste he could back to the parliament, and to "spend the remainder of his life in their service:" which action, so contrary to his own natural discretion and generosity, lost him the affection of those few who had preserved some kindness for him, and got him credit with nobody; and may teach all men how dangerous it is to step aside out of the path of innocence and virtue, upon any presumption to be able to get into it again; since they usually satisfy themselves in doing any thing

to mend the present exigent they are in, rather than think of returning to that condition of innocence, from whence they departed with a purpose of returning.

However, this unhappy ill carriage of the earl doth not absolve the king's council from oversight in treating him no better; which was a great error; and made the king, and all those about him, looked upon as implacable; and so diverted all men from farther thoughts of returning to their duty by such application, and made those who abhorred the war, and the violent counsels in the carrying it on, choose rather to acquiesce, and expect a conjuncture when a universal peace might be made, than to expose themselves by unseasonable and unwelcome addresses. The earl of Northumberland, who was gone to Petworth, as is said before, with a purpose of going to the king, if by the lord Conway's negociation, and the earl of Holland's reception, he found encouragement, returned to the parliament, where he was received with great respect, all men concluding, that he had never intended to do, what he had not done. And the other members, who had entertained the same resolutions, changed their minds with him, and returned to their former station: and the two earls who yet remained at Oxford, shortly after found means to make their peace; and returned again to their own habitations in London, without farther mark of displeasure, than a restraint, from coming to the house of peers, or being trusted in their counsels.

The committee from the two houses of parliament, which was sent into Scotland in July before,

in the distraction of their affairs, when sir William Waller was defeated, and the earl of Essex's army unserviceable, as is remembered, found that kingdom in so good and ready a posture for their reception, that they had called an assembly of their kirk, and a convention of the estates, (which is the parliament,) without, and expressly against, the king's consent, and without any colour of law; for the time, when, by their late act of parliament, they might of right challenge those meetings, was not come by almost a year; and the king had refused to convene them sooner. The kingdom was at unity and peace amongst themselves, and so at the more leisure to help their neighbours; and the government of all affairs in their hands who were to be confided in; and they again ruled and disposed by a few, who were throughly engaged in the counsels and discomposures in England; for all those who were visibly affected to the king's service, or disaffected eminently to the persons in authority there, were fled the kingdom: and they who stayed behind, either had, or pretended to have, the same affections; of which a full declared zeal, and good-will to the parliament of England, was a common evidence.

So that the committee found as good a welcome as they could wish, and all men disposed to gain a good opinion with them: a committee was appointed, both out of the convention of estates, and the assembly, "to treat with them, and to make "such conclusions, as might be thought necessary "to advance the peace and happiness of both "kingdoms." These men complied with them, in their full sense of the sad condition of the affairs

of England, and in their own concernment in the misfortunes which should befall them: they said, "they well understood how much the fate of "Scotland was involved in what should befall the "parliament in England; and that if the king pre-"vailed by force, and, by the power of his army, "oppressed those friends, who had expressed a "tenderness formerly towards them, they had "reason to expect the same army should be "applied to the revenge of those indignities they "would easily persuade his majesty, he had suf-"fered from that his native kingdom: and there-"fore they needed no arguments to persuade them "to commiserate the estate of their brethren of "England; or to convince them, that their case "was their own, and their mutual safety bound up "together: but that those politic arguments and "considerations would have no influence upon the "people, who had such a natural affection and "loyalty to their sovereign, as no earthly con-"sideration would be able to prevail with them "to lessen their obedience towards his majesty; "and that, albeit there was no visible party and "faction, that appeared in the kingdom for the "king, yet that there were many well wishers to "him, and maligners, in their hearts, of the "present reformation; who, as soon as there "should be any preparation for an army to march "into England, would be ready, upon the specious "arguments of duty to his majesty, and of peace "to their country, and might be able to give great "disturbance to the expedition, or to disquiet the "realm, when the most eminently affected were "marched towards the relief of their distressed

" neighbours; except some obligation of con-
" science were laid upon the people; who only
" preferred what they called their piety to God,
" before their inclination to their prince, and the
" setting up the kingdom of Jesus Christ, before
" the vindication of a temporal jurisdiction."

For such an expedient, therefore, they proposed,
" that a covenant might be agreed upon between
" the two kingdoms, for the utter extirpation of
" prelacy, which that kingdom was satisfied to be a
" great obstruction to the reformation of religion;
" and the two houses of parliament had discovered
" a sufficient aversion from that government, by
" having passed a bill for their utter abolition, and
" in the place thereof to erect such a government,
" as should be most agreeable to God's word, which
" they doubted not would be their own presbytery;
" and that the people being cemented together by
" such an obligation, would never be severed and
" disjoined by any temptation."

There was an easy consent, from the committee of the English, to any expedient that might throughly engage the other nation; and so a form of words was quickly agreed on between them, for a perfect combination and marriage between the parliament and the Scots, in all such particulars, as were most like to be unacceptable to the king; and this form being presently communicated to the convention of estates, and the assembly, as soon found an approbation and concurrence there, with as much solemnity, as was necessary to shew their temper and resolution, and to provoke the consent of the two houses at Westminster, whither it was despatched with all imaginable celerity, and a signification,

" that that people were in such a forwardness to " advance, that they would be in England as soon " as they could be reasonably expected." And it was indeed apparent enough, that, upon the discipline of the late commotions, and the wise presage and foresight of that people, there was nothing requisite to their march, but the calling them together.

Many were of opinion, that this engagement was proposed " rather to decline being engaged in the " quarrel, than out of hope or imagination that the " two houses would concur with them; for though " there had been a bill passed, before the last " treaty with the king, to that purpose, yet they " well knew that most of the peers, and persons of " quality and interest in the other house, were " willing to depart from that overture. Besides, " that amongst those who raged jointly against " episcopacy, there were so many opinions, that it " would be no less difficult to establish their pres- " bytery, than to root out the other government, " to which they intended by their covenant equally " to oblige them: so that upon this proposition, " which was according to the known temper of " that nation, they should preserve themselves " plausibly, and without seeming to desert their " confederates, from bearing any part in the pre- " sent troubles. However, it would visibly take " up so much time, that if there were no ebb in " the king's prosperity and success, he might well " finish his work, and this interposition be inter- " preted for a politic stratagem to amuse the " English." But if this was their stratagem, they met with people too frank hearted, and unscrupu-

lous to contribute towards it: for the draught of the covenant no sooner came to Westminster, but they shewed a marvellous inclination to it. Yet as well because it was not yet known what success the earl of Essex would have in the relief of Gloucester, which was like to have a shrewd influence upon men's affections and consciences, as that they might seem to use all necessary deliberation and caution, for the information of their judgments in a new case, that concerned the religion and ecclesiastical fabric of the kingdom, they transmitted it to their assembly of divines, to return their opinion "of "the lawfulness of taking it in point of con- "science."

The assembly, besides that it was constituted of members who had all renounced their obedience to their king, and submission to the church of England, by their appearance and presence in that convention, had been lately taught how dangerous it was to dissent from the current opinion of the house of commons: for doctor Featly, (upon whose reputation in learning they had raised great advantages to themselves,) having made many speeches in the assembly in the behalf of "the "order of bishops, and their function, and against "the alienation of church-lands, as sacrilege," and especially inveighed against "the liberty that "was taken in matter of religion, by which so "many sects were grown up to the scandal and "reproach of the protestant doctrine, if not of "Christianity itself," had so far incurred their displeasure, and provoked their jealousy, that an ordinary fellow (so well confirmed in spirit, that they doubted not his failing or conversion) was directed

to make application to him in cases of conscience, and after he had gotten sufficient credit with him, (which was no hard matter,) to intimate to him, "that he had a sure and unquestionable convey-"ance to Oxford, or that he was to go thither "himself, and if he had any occasions to use his "service thither, he would faithfully execute his "commands." The doctor, believing the messenger to be sincere, and the king's affairs standing then prosperous, gave him letters for the archbishop of Armagh, primate of Ireland, who waited on his majesty; and by this artifice, the same instrument received two or three letters from him, pretending they were still sent by infallible hands; and brought them always to those persons by whom he was intrusted in the work of his imposture.

The letters contained many apologies for himself, "for being engaged in such a congregation, to "which he submitted purely out of conscience, "and for the service of the king and church, in "hope that he might be able to prevent many ex-"travagancies, and to contain those unruly spirits "within some bounds of regularity and modera-"tion;" of his endeavours that way, he gave many instances; and sent copies of what he had said in justification of episcopacy, the liturgy, and the established government, and concluded with a desire to his grace, "to procure a good opinion "from the king towards him, and some bishopric "or deanery for his recompense." About the time that this agitation was in Scotland, and very little before this covenant was transmitted, these

letters were produced, and a charge against that doctor, "for betraying the trust reposed in him, "and adhering to the enemy;" and thereupon the poor man was expelled the assembly of divines, both his livings (for he had two within a very small distance of London) sequestered, his study of books and estate seized, and himself committed to a common gaol, where he continued to his death; which befell him the sooner, through the extreme wants he underwent; so solicitous was that party to remove any impediment that troubled them, and so implacable to any who were weary of their journey, though they had accompanied them very far in their way.

This fresh example the *assembly of godly and learned divines* had before their eyes when this covenant was sent to them for their consideration, and speedy resolution; and according to the haste it required, that clergy returned within two days their full approbation of it; there having been but two ministers who made any pause or scruple of it, and they again soon confessing "they had received "satisfaction to their doubts in the debate, and "that they were fully convinced of the lawfulness "and piety of it." Having received so absolute an approbation and concurrence, and the battle of Newbury being in that time likewise over, (which cleared and removed more doubts, than the assembly had done,) it stuck very few hours with both houses; but being at once judged convenient and lawful, the lords and commons, and their assembly of divines, met together at the church, with great solemnity to take it, on the five and twentieth

day of September; a double holyday, by the earl of Essex's triumphant return to London, and this religious exercise.

There, two or three of their divines went up into the pulpit successively, not to preach, but to pray; others, according to their several gifts, to make orations upon the work of the day. They were by them told, "that this oath was such, and "in the matter and consequence of it of such "concernment, as it was truly worthy of them, *yea* "of those kingdoms, *yea* of all the kingdoms of "the world: that it could be no other, but the "result and answer of such prayers and tears, of "such sincerity and sufferings, that three king-"doms should be thus born, or rather new born, "in a day: that they were entering upon a work "of the greatest moment and concernment to "themselves, and to their posterities after them, "that ever was undertaken by any of them, or any "of their forefathers before them. That it was a "duty of the first commandment, and therefore of "the highest and noblest order and rank of duties; "therefore must come forth attended with choicest "graces, fear, humility, and in the greatest simpli-"city, and plainness of spirit, in respect of those "with whom they covenanted. That it was to "advance the kingdom of Christ here upon earth, "and make Jerusalem once more the praise of the "whole earth, notwithstanding all the contradic-"tions of men;" with many such high expressions, which can hardly be conceived, without the view of the records and registry that is kept of them.

It will be here most necessary, that posterity

may be informed of the rare conclusion, in which two nations, with such wonderful unanimity, did agree, and which was calculated for the meridian of a third kingdom, (for Ireland is likewise comprehended in it,) to insert this league and covenant in the precise terms in which it was received, and entered into; which was in these words.

A solemn league and covenant for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

"We noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, "citizens, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, and "commons of all sorts, in the kingdom of Eng- "land, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of "God living under one king, and being of one "reformed religion, having before our eyes the "glory of God, and the advancement of the king- "dom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the "honour and happiness of the king's majesty and "his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety, "and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's "private condition is included; and calling to "mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspi- "racies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of "God, against the true religion, and professors "thereof, in all places, especially in these three "kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion, "and how much their rage, power, and presump- "tion are of late, and at this time, increased and "exercised, (whereof the deplorable estate of the "church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed

" estate of the church and kingdom of England, " and the dangerous estate of the church and " kingdom of Scotland, are present and public " testimonies,) we have now at last, (after other " means of supplication, remonstrance, protesta- " tions, and sufferings,) for the preservation of " ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and " destruction, according to the commendable prac- " tice of these kingdoms in former times, and the " example of God's people in other nations, after " mature deliberation, resolved and determined to " enter into a mutual and solemn league and cove- " nant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of " us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the " most high God, do swear,

1. " That we shall sincerely, really, and con- " stantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in " our several places and callings, the preservation " of the reformed religion in the church of Scot- " land, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and govern- " ment, against our common enemies; the reform- " ation of religion in the kingdoms of England and " Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and go- " vernment, according to the word of God, and " the example of the best reformed churches; and " we shall endeavour to bring the churches of God " in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction " and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, " form of church-government, directory for worship, " and catechising; that we, and our posterity after " us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and " the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

2. " That we shall, in like manner, without " respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of

" popery, prelacy, (that is, church-government by " archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and com- " missaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdea- " cons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depend- " ing on that hierarchy,) superstition, heresy, " schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be " found to be contrary to sound doctrine, and the " power of godliness, lest we partake in other " men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive " of their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, " and his name one in the three kingdoms.

3. " We shall, with the same sincerity, reality, " and constancy, in our several vocations, endea- " vour, with our estates and lives, mutually to pre- " serve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, " and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to pre- " serve and defend the king's majesty's person and " authority, in the preservation and defence of the " true religion, and liberties of the kingdoms; that " the world may bear witness, with our con- " sciences, of our loyalty; and that we have no " thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's " just power and greatness.

4. " We shall also, with all faithfulness, endea- " vour the discovery of all such as have been, or " shall be, incendiaries, malignants, or evil instru- " ments, by hindering the reformation of religion, " dividing the king from his people, or one of the " kingdoms from another, or making any factions " or parties among the people, contrary to this " league and covenant; that they may be brought " to public trial, and receive condign punishment, " as the degree of their offences shall require or " deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both

" kingdoms respectively, or others having power " from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

5. " And whereas the happiness of a blessed " peace between these kingdoms, denied in former " times to our progenitors, is by the good provi- " dence of God granted unto us, and hath been " lately concluded and settled by both parliaments, " we shall, each one of us, according to our places " and interest, endeavour, that they may remain " conjoined in a firm peace and union to all pos- " terity, and that justice may be done upon the " wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in " the precedent articles.

6. " We shall also, according to our places and " callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, " and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all " those that enter into this league and covenant, " in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and " shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, " by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, " to be divided, and withdrawn from this blessed " union and conjunction, whether to make defec- " tion to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to " a detestable indifference or neutrality in this " cause, which so much concerneth the glory of " God, the good of the kingdoms, and the honour " of the king; but shall, all the days of our lives, " zealously and constantly continue therein, against " all opposition, and promote the same according " to our power, against all lets and impediments " whatsoever. And what we are not able ourselves " to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and " make known, that it may be timely prevented or " removed; all which we shall do as in the sight " of God.

"And because these kingdoms are guilty of "many sins, and provocations against God, and "his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our "present distresses and dangers, the fruits there-"of; we profess and declare, before God and the "world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for "our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms; "especially, that we have not, as we ought, valued "the inestimable benefit of the gospel, that we have "not laboured for the purity and power thereof; "and that we have not endeavoured to receive "Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him "in our lives, which are the causes of other sins "and transgressions so much abounding amongst "us: and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, "and endeavour for ourselves, and all others under "our power and charge, both in public and in pri-"vate, in all duties we owe to God and man, to "amend our lives, and each one to go before an-"other in the example of a real reformation; that "the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy "indignation, and establish these churches and "kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant "we make in the presence of Almighty God, the "searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to "perform the same, as we shall answer at that "great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be "disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to "strengthen us by his holy Spirit, for this end; "and to bless our desires and proceedings with "such success, as may be a deliverance and safety "to his people, and encouragement to other "Christian churches, groaning under, or in danger "of, the yoke of antichristian tyranny, to join in

"the same, or like association and covenant, to "the glory of God, the enlargement of the king- "dom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tran- "quillity of Christian kingdoms and common- "wealths."

As soon as this solemnity was over, which was concluded by Mr. Henderson, (the sole ecclesiasti- cal commissioner from the kingdom of Scotland,) who magnified what they had done, and assured them "of great success after it, by the experience "of that nation, who, from their union in their "first covenant, found nothing hard they proposed "to themselves;" and told them, "that were that "covenant now painted upon the wall within the "pope's palace, it would doubtless put him into "Belshazzar's quaking condition;" the speaker and commons (having first set their hands to the covenant, after they had taken it) returned to their house; and observing that many of their members were that day absent, the cause whereof was easy to be guessed, they ordered, "that, as soon as "they came into the house, the covenant should "be tendered to them; and whosoever refused to "take it, should be proceeded against, as a dis- "affected person, in such manner as the house "should think fit."

And they farther made a special order, "that all "the ministers of parish-churches within London "and Westminster, the suburbs, and the whole "line of communication, should read and explain "the covenant to their several congregations, and "stir them up, the next fast day, to the cheerful "taking of it:" and particular care was taken, that all the students of the inns of court should be

persuaded to receive it. But, over and above these general directions, there was a particular ceremony and application to recommend this covenant to the city and corporation of London, and another use to be made of it. The covenant was not only to bring, but to keep men together, and the taking it had only inclined the Scots to march to their assistance; they were to have one hundred thousand pounds advanced to them, and paid at Edinburgh, before they would stir; and how to advance this great sum, was not easy to resolve. All their ordinances for levying of money were spent; their issues and disbursements so vast, that no income was sufficient; their exchequer was exhausted, and even their public faith bankrupt: such anticipations upon all kind of receipts, for monies borrowed and already spent, that they had no capital for future security.

The judicature of the house of peers (though their number was but ten, for there was no more at the sentence of justice Berkley) had helped them all they could. Justice Berkley, who had been committed by them to the Tower, shortly after the beginning of the parliament, upon a charge of high treason, and since the beginning of the war, permitted by them to sit as sole judge in the king's bench one whole term, was now brought to judgment; and by their lordships fined the sum of twenty thousand pounds, and made incapable of any place of judicature; and upon an abatement of half, and his liberty, he paid the other ten thousand pounds together, to those persons they appointed to receive it; which, since all fines are due to the king alone, and cannot be disposed but by

him, many thought a greater crime than that for which he was sentenced. Baron Trevor, who was fined for the same offence, and suffered still to continue the same office, in which he had committed his misdemeanour, yielded them as much more. But these petty sums were disposed before they were received, and were but small drops to quench the great drought they sustained: so that the reputation and security of this covenant was, amongst other uses, to bring in money too.

And to that purpose, a committee of lords and commons, with some of their divines of the assembly, was sent to the guildhall, where the mayor had called a common council for their reception, to recommend to them "the wonderful advantage and strength "their party should gain by taking, and being "united in, this covenant; and the desperate con- "dition they were like to be in without it: if the "Scots came not to their assistance, which, without "this obligation, they could not do, they were in "danger to be overwhelmed by the enemy; or "at least to make a disadvantageous and dishon- "ourable peace with them; which yet they could "not tell how it would be observed and kept. On "the other hand, by this famous accession of "strength of a whole nation, they should undoubt- "edly be able to master the war, and to make those "who had been the causers of it, defray the "charge; and so all the public debts being dis- "charged out of the estates of delinquents and "malignants, the kingdom would not be at all im- "poverished, and the peace, which should here- "after be made with the king, would be sure to be "inviolably observed by the strength of this union;

" and therefore that it could not be purchased at " too dear a rate.

" It was," they said, " neither covetousness, nor " want of affection and zeal to their relief, that the " Scots, who took their cause to heart as their own, " desired an advance of money before they drew " their army into England, but pure necessity, and " the poverty of that kingdom, already exhausted " by their late expeditions, and keeping their sol- " diers together for the good of this. And if there " had been money enough in that country to have " been procured upon the public stock and revenue, " or the mortgage of private estates, to which all " men were forward for the public good, their love " to their brethren here was such, that they would " neither have asked nor received money for their " assistance, after it had proved effectual; much " less, before the yielding it. For evidence of which " frank and brotherly inclination, they freely offered " the engagement of their own estates, for the re- " payment of the money that should be advanced:" which was the first time that ever land in Scotland had been offered for security of money, in the city of London. In the end, they very devoutly extolled the covenant, magnified the Scottish nation, with all imaginable attributes of esteem and reverence, " a nation, that had engaged itself to God in " a higher way, in a more extraordinary way, than " any nation this day upon the face of the earth " had done; a nation, that had reformed their lives " for so small a time, more than ever any people, " that they knew of, in the world had done; a na- " tion, that God had honoured by giving as glorious " success unto, as ever he did unto any:" and very

earnestly desired the loan of a hundred thousand pounds. The rhetoric and the zeal prevailed; a hundred thousand pounds was promised, and shortly provided, and sent to Edinburgh; and the assurance of the Scots coming so full, that they were looked upon as masters of Newcastle already. With such an alacrity all these things were transacted.

That violent party in the parliament, which never intended any peace with the king, and had more desperate mutations in their purposes, than they avowed, even amongst those who concurred with them in all they desired, did not think themselves secure in the affection of the people, nor in those who had the greatest trust in their affairs. They had seen the great changes in the houses, in the city, and in the country, upon their late ill successes, the defeat of Waller, and the loss of Bristol: and though the earl of Essex still adhered to them, yet they saw he was not pleased, nor favoured one of those men upon whom they most depended; but, on the contrary, all who were countenanced by him, or in his confidence, were men of no principles which they liked, or who desired no other alterations in the court or government, but only of the persons who acted in it: therefore they had taken an opportunity, in the greatest dejection of spirit, and when they looked upon themselves as swallowed up by the king's power, to move, "that they might send into Scotland "to their brethren there, to join with them, and to "assist them with an army, that they might, by such "a conjunction, have an appui that might make "them so considerable, as to be treated with, and "to receive conditions which might preserve them "from ruin:" which proposition, being for so

common an interest and benefit, had received a general concurrence; and so that committee of both houses had been sent into Scotland, to put them in mind "of their joint concernment, and how impossible it would be for the Scots long to enjoy "the great concessions they had obtained from the "king, when the parliament of England, by whose "friendship, power, and authority, they had obtained them, should be oppressed, and forced to "yield to such conditions for their particular preservations, as the king would think fit to give them, "and as they may merit by accepting; and therefore "that the parliament expected and desired that "they would forthwith give them such an assistance as might be sufficient to preserve them both, "which could be no other way than by immediately "sending a good army into England, which would "countenance and support their friends in the "north, and keep the earl of Newcastle from being "able to march towards London on that side; "whilst the king encompassed them on the other, "which was the present design." Sir Harry Vane was one of the commissioners, and therefore the other need not be named, since he was all in any business where others were joined with him. [But they were not a little startled, when they found this message had obliged them to a present expense of a hundred thousand pounds, before there was any visible relief given them; and saw themselves involved in new obligations of guilt, and to purposes they really abhorred.]

There hath been scarce any thing more wonderful throughout the progress of these distractions, than that this covenant did with such extraordinary

expedition pass the two houses, when all the leading persons in those councils were at the same time known to be as great enemies to presbytery, (the establishment whereof was the sole end of this covenant,) as they were to the king or the church. And he who contributed most to it, and who, in truth, was the principal contriver of it, and the man by whom the committee in Scotland was entirely and stupidly governed, sir Harry Vane the younger, was not afterwards more known to abhor the covenant, and the presbyterians, than he was at that very time known to do, and laughed at them then, as much as ever he did afterwards.

He was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, a pleasant wit, a great understanding, which pierced into and discerned the purposes of other men with wonderful sagacity, whilst he had himself *vultum clausum*, that no man could make a guess of what he intended. He was of a temper not to be moved, and of rare dissimulation, and could comply when it was not seasonable to contradict, without losing ground by the condescension; and if he were not superior to Mr. Hambden, he was inferior to no other man, in all mysterious artifices. There need no more be said of his ability, than that he was chosen to cozen and deceive a whole nation, which excelled in craft and cunning: which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a people, that could not otherwise be prevailed upon than by advancing their idol presbytery, to sacrifice their peace, their interest, and their faith, to the erecting a power and authority that resolved to persecute presbytery to an extirpation; and very near brought their purpose to pass.

The nation of Scotland, in general, had been so fully satisfied in all that they could pretend to desire, that they were very well disposed to be spectators of what was done in England, without engaging themselves in the quarrel; and though there were some powerful men amongst them, whose guilt would not suffer them to believe that they could be otherwise secure, than by the king's want of power to call them to justice, yet their number was not thought so great, as to be able to corrupt the people into a barefaced act of rebellion: nor had they any such face of authority, as to invite them to it. Without a parliament, they could not propose it; the king had absolutely refused to call a parliament, and it was yet above a year to come, before a parliament could be assembled without the king's consent; and in that time, the king might have the better of his enemies. The commissioners of the parliament had not been long at Edinburgh, before they prevailed with the council to call a parliament; which duke Hamilton, and others, who pretended great devotion to the king, and were of the council, had promised the king to oppose, and said, "they were powerful enough to prevent." When it came to the point, duke Hamilton, being, one way or other, persuaded himself, persuaded others, "that the absolute refusal to suffer a par-"liament to be called, would not quiet the debate, "nor secure the king, but more inflame those who "desired it; who would take some other time, when "many of them who opposed it should be absent, to "propose it; and so would carry it: and that there-"fore they were better be absent at first, whereby "the others might, without opposition, send out

" their summons for a parliament to assemble, at " the day they thought fit; and then, as they who " would serve the king would not be there, so they " should prevail with as many others as they could, " not to be there likewise; whereby the number " which appeared would be so inconsiderable, that " they would not dare to sit, but presently dis- " perse; and this disappointment would for ever " quash that design, and render those who advised " it odious to the people; as men who desired " illegally to engage the nation in unjustifiable " ways, to disturb the public peace."

A summons was accordingly sent out to call a parliament, to meet at a day appointed; before which time, those of the nobility and gentry, who did really desire to serve the king, applied themselves to duke Hamilton, (whose advice and orders the king himself had required them to observe; unhappily still believing him to be faithful,) to know what they should do: many of the principal of them declaring their opinions to him, " that " they should take an opportunity to meet together, " and bring their friends with them, whereby they " might make a good body of horse, and so, with " their arms in their hands, they would declare " against the legality of that parliament, and the " meeting in it;" and named a fit opportunity to him for such a meeting at the funeral of a lady, which was to be within some days, when, according to the custom of that people, great numbers of persons of quality use to assemble, to do honour to the dead in the last obsequies. He told them, " he " believed it must come shortly to that remedy, but " conceived it not yet time, and that such a meet-

" ing would frighten the people, and increase the " number in parliament, and make many resort " to them for their directions." And he said, " he had changed his former opinion, concerning " their own being absent at that time of the meet- " ing of the parliament, since their mere absence " would not be discountenance enough, and that " they who sat, would carry the reputation of a " parliament, and the people would be guided by " them, if there were nothing but their absence to " work upon their inclinations and affections."

He proposed therefore to them, " that they might " all resolve to be present, and take their places; " and that, when the house should be sat, and any " man should stand up to propose the taking any " business into consideration, he (the duke) would " first make his protestation against proceeding in " so illegal a convention, and then they should all " make the same protestation; and he did hope, " that the number of the protesters would be great " enough to dissolve the meeting; and thus they " should put the best end to the matter that could " be desired: but if it should succeed otherwise, " then would be the time to withdraw and put " themselves in arms; towards which he would " make the best preparation he could; and desired " them to do the like." The earl of Kinoul, and some others, made exceptions against this expedient, and pressed the former meeting at the funeral, till the duke told them, " the king liked " the other way better;" and pulled a letter out of his pocket, which he had received from his majesty, and read them so much of it, as contained his approbation, " that they should meet in the parlia-

" ment;" with which determination they could not but acquiesce, though they thought at the same time, that his majesty was betrayed.

The parliament met at the day; and duke Hamilton, according to his promise, took an opportunity to say somewhat that seemed to imply a protestation against the meeting; upon which, many of the lords, who had been always most engaged against the king, were very warm; and demanded, " that he should declare himself clearly, " whether he did protest against the parliament;" whereupon his brother the earl of Lanrick, who was secretary of state to the king, stood up, and said, " that he hoped that noble lord's affection to " his country was better known, than that any " man could imagine he would protest against the " parliament of the kingdom;" and then the duke explained, and excused himself; and said, " he " meant no such thing:" and so they declared, " that they would treat with the commissioners, " who were sent from the parliament of Eng- " land;" and appointed commissioners for that purpose.

Some are of opinion, that, even at this time, they did not intend to engage in the war against the king; but that, as a few men cozened the parliament at Westminster, by persuading them, " that " they desired only a safe peace," till, by multiplication of indignities, they made it impossible to make a peace that would appear safe; so there was as small a number in Scotland, that overreached the parliament there, by persuading, " that " they never intended to do any thing against the " king, but that it would be too ingrateful a thing,

" and render them very odious to the whole English " nation, if, after they had received so many obli- " gations from the parliament [there], to whose " protection they owed their religion, and all that " they enjoyed, they should refuse so much as to " treat with them, and to assist them, by their " interposition, to procure a good peace for them " with the king; which would be a great honour " to them; and would be as great an obligation to " his majesty, as to the parliament; that this was " all that was in their thoughts; and that they " would avoid any engagement in a war," not by rejecting the proposition, but by making such demands, as they knew well would never be accepted by the parliament [at Westminster]. Thereupon they told the commissioners from the parliament, " that it would be impossible to engage that nation " in a joint concurrence with them, against the " king, but by the influence and authority of their " kirk; and that it would be as impossible to " procure the consent of their kirk, except by " making it evident to them, that the government " of the church in England should be reduced to " the same model with theirs in Scotland; and " that episcopacy should be totally extirpated; " and that deans and chapters should be utterly " abolished; without which," they said, " they " could never think their own government securely " established; but if such a promise might be " solemnly made, their kirk would be throughly " engaged, and the nation, to a man, would enter " into the quarrel."

Sir Harry Vane was not surprised with the proposition, which he had long foreseen, and came re-

solved to pay their own price for their friendship. Thereupon, the covenant was prepared, and other propositions made for the present furnishing a great sum of money, to enable them to begin their levies; and many extravagant conditions proposed, for the payment of the army, and other vast expenses, that they did not believe the commissioners would yield, or that the parliament would perform, if they were yielded unto. Nothing of money, or honour, was insisted upon, and they came provided with some letters of credit, that as little time might be lost as was possible, in making all necessary preparations. The covenant was the matter of difficulty; they knowing well, that many of their greatest friends, both in the parliament and the army, had not any mind to change the government of the church; to which the people of England were not generally disaffected.

Sir Harry Vane therefore (who equally hated episcopacy and presbytery, save that he wished the one abolished with much impatience, believing it much easier to keep the other from being established, whatever they promised, than to be rid of that which was settled in the kingdom) carefully considered the covenant, and after he had altered and changed many expressions in it, and made them doubtful enough to bear many interpretations, he, and his fellow commissioners, signed the whole treaty; whereby it was provided, "That "the covenant should be taken throughout all his "majesty's dominions; that a committee of the "Scots should always sit with the close committee "at Westminster for the carrying on of the war "with equal authority; that there should be no

"treaty of peace with the king, without the joint "consent of the parliaments of both kingdoms;" and many other particulars, very derogatory to the honour of the English nation; and with all possible expedition sent it to the close committee at Westminster; in the time of their consternation, and before the relief of Gloucester; which transmitted it presently back to them, allowed and confirmed.

And thereupon the parliament at Edinburgh resolved to raise a great army, and to invade England; and their old general Lesley, who had so solemnly promised the king, not only "never "to bear arms against him, but to serve him, let "the cause be what it would," without any hesitation undertook the command of it. All this time, duke Hamilton looked on, and sometimes sat with them; and when the first proclamation was prepared, in the king's name, for a general rendezvous of all men, from such an age to such an age, at such a time and place, that so their army might be presently formed, the earl of Lanrick put the king's signet, with the keeping whereof he was trusted, to the said proclamation: and all this being done, both the brothers left Scotland, to give the king an account at Oxford of all the proceedings: many of the nobility of that kingdom, who did heartily wish well to the king, having come away from thence, after the first day's meeting of their parliament, (and when the duke had broken his promise to them,) and informed his majesty at large of that which they thought foul infidelity.

The discomposures, jealousies, and disgusts, which reigned at Oxford, produced great incon-

veniences; and as, many times, men in a scuffle lose their weapons, and light upon those which belonged to their adversaries, who again arm themselves with those which belonged to the others, such, one would have thought, had been the fortune of the king's army in the encounters with the enemy's: for those under the king's commanders grew insensibly into all the license, disorder, and impiety, with which they had reproached the rebels; and they again, into great discipline, diligence, and sobriety; which begat courage and resolution in them, and notable dexterity in achievements and enterprises. Insomuch as one side seemed to fight for monarchy, with the weapons of confusion, and the other to destroy the king and government, with all the principles and regularity of monarchy.

In the beginning of the troubles, the king had very prudently resolved with himself, to confer no honours, or bestow any offices or preferments, upon any, till the end and conclusion of the service; and if that resolution had continued, he would have found much ease by it, and his service great advantage. The necessity and exigents of the war, shortly after, made some breach into this seasonable resolution, and, for ready money to carry on the war, his majesty was compelled, against his nature, to dispense some favours, which he would not willingly have suffered to be purchased, but by virtue and high merit. Then all men thought money and money-worth to be all one; and that whosoever, by his service, had deserved a reward of money, had deserved any thing that might be had for money. And when it was

apparent, that the war was like to prove a business of time, it was thought unreasonable, that the king should not confer rewards on some, which he was able to do, because he could not do it on all, which was confessedly out of his power. And so, by importunity, and upon the title of old promises, and some conveniences of his service, he bestowed honours upon some principal officers of his army, and offices upon others; to which, though, in the particulars, no just exceptions could be taken, yet many were angry to see some preferred; and not so much extolling their own merit and service, as making it equal to those whom they saw advanced, every man thought himself neglected and slighted, in that another was better esteemed.

And this poison of envy wrought upon many natures, which had skill enough not to confess it: the soldiers, albeit they were emulous amongst themselves, and very unsatisfied with one another, (there being unhappy animosities amongst the principal officers,) yet they were too well united, and reconciled against any other body of men; and thinking the king's crown depended wholly on the fortune of their swords, believed no other persons to be considerable, and no councils fit to be consulted with, but the martial; and thence proceeded a fatal disrespect and irreverence to the council of state, to which, by the wholesome constitution of the kingdom, the militia, garrisons, and all martial power is purely and naturally subordinate; and by the authority and prudence whereof, provision could be only reasonably expected, for the countenance and support of the army.

The general and prince Rupert were both strangers to the government and custom of the kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with the nobility, and the public ministers, or with their rights: and the prince's heart was so wholly set upon actions of war, that he not only neglected, but too much contemned, the peaceable and civil arts, which were most necessary even to the carrying on of the other. And certainly, somewhat like that which Plutarch says of soothsaying, "that "Octavius lost his life by trusting to it, and that "Marius prospered the better, because he did not "altogether despise it," may be said of popularity: though he that too immoderately and importunately affects it (which was the case of the earl of Essex) will hardly continue innocent; yet he who too affectedly despises or neglects what is said of him, or what is generally thought of persons or things, and too stoically contemns the affections of men, even of the vulgar, (be his other abilities and virtues what can be imagined,) will, in some conjuncture of time, find himself very unfortunate. And it may be, a better reason cannot be assigned for the misfortunes that hopeful young prince (who had great parts of mind, as well as vigour of body, and an incomparable personal courage) underwent, and the kingdom thereby, than that roughness and unpolishedness of his nature; which rendered him less patient to hear, and consequently less skilful to judge of those things, which should have guided him in the discharge of his important trust: and thence making an unskilful judgment of the unusefulness of the councils, by his observation of the infirmities and weakness of some

particular counsellors, he grew to a full disesteem of the acts of that board; which must be accounted venerable, as long as the regal power is exercised in England.

And I cannot but, on this occasion, continue this digression thus much farther, to observe, that they who avoid public debates in council, or think them of less moment, upon undervaluing the persons of some counsellors, and from the particular infirmities of the men, the heaviness of this man, the levity of that, the weakness and simplicity of a third, conclude, that their advice and opinions are not requisite to any great design, are exceedingly deceived; and will perniciously deceive others who are misled by those conclusions. For it is in wisdom, as it is in beauty, a face that, being taken in pieces, affords scarce one exact feature, an eye, or a nose, or a tooth, or a brow, or a mouth, against which a visible just exception cannot be taken, yet altogether, by a gracefulness and vivacity in the whole, may constitute an excellent beauty, and be more catching than another, whose symmetry is more faultless; so there are many men, who in this particular argument may be unskilful, in that affected, who may seem to have levity, or vanity, or formality, in ordinary and cursory conversation, (a very crooked rule to measure any man's abilities, as giving a better measure of the humour, than of the understanding,) and yet in formed counsels, deliberations, and transactions, are men of great insight, and wisdom, and from whom excellent assistance may be contributed.

And no question, all great enterprises and designs, that are to be executed, have many parts,

even in the projection, fit for the survey and disquisition of several faculties and abilities, and equally for the decision of sharper and more phlegmatic understandings. And we often hear, in debates of great moment, animadversions of more weight and consequence, from those whose ordinary conversation is not so delightful, than from men of more sublime parts. Certainly Solomon very well understood himself, when he said, *In the multitude of counsellors there is safety.* And though it were confessed, that reason would be better discovered, and stated, and conclusions easier made by a few, than by a greater number, yet when the execution depends on many, and the general interpretation so much depends on the success, and the success on the interpretation, we see those counsels most prosperous, whereof the considerations and deliberations have been measured by that standard which is most publicly acknowledged and received. And he hath had but small experience in the managing affairs, who is not able experimentally to name to himself some very good and useful conclusions, which have therefore only succeeded amiss, because they were not communicated to those, who had reason to believe themselves competent parties to the secret. There was seldom ever yet that public-heartedness sunk into the breasts of men, that they were long willing to be left out in those transactions, to the privacy whereof they had a right. And therefore men have been often willing enough, any single advice should miscarry, of whatsoever general concernment, rather than contribute to the fame of some one man, who has thought their approbation

not worth the providing for. And though the objection of secrecy and despatch seems to favour a small number, and a reservation of communicating, yet (except in those few cases, which in their nature are to be consulted, and acted together, and the full execution whereof may be by a few) I am not sure that the inconveniency will be greater by a necessary delay, or even by such a discovery, as may be supposed to proceed from the levity of a counsellor, (futile and malicious natures ought not to be supposed to be admitted into that rank of men,) than by wanting the approbation and concurrence of those, (admitting there could be no benefit from their information,) who will unavoidably know it soon enough to add to, or take from, the success, at least the reputation. And from this root much of the negligence and disrespect towards the civil councils proceeded. For as all corporations, tribes, and fraternities, suffer most by the malignity of some of their own members; so the jealousy and indisposition of some counsellors contributed much to the disregard which fell upon the order; and in them, upon the king.

Amongst those who were nearest the king's trust, and to whom he communicated the greatest secrets in his affairs, there were some, who from private, though very good, conditions of life, without such an application to court as usually ushered in those promotions, were ascended to that preferment; and were believed to have an equal interest with any, in their master's estimation. And these were sure to find no more charity from the court, than from the army; and having had lately so many equals, it was thought no presump-

tion, freely to censure all they did, or spake; what effect soever such freedom had upon the public policy and transactions. It were to be wished, that persons of the greatest birth, honour, and fortune, would take that care of themselves by education, industry, literature, and a love of virtue, to surpass all other men in knowledge, and all other qualifications, necessary for great actions, as far as they do in quality and titles, that princes, out of them, might always choose men fit for all employments, and high trusts; which would exceedingly advance their service; when the reputation and respect of the person carries somewhat with it that facilitates the business. And it cannot easily be expressed, nor comprehended by any who have not felt the weight and burden of the envy, which naturally attends upon those promotions, which seem to be *per saltum*, how great straits and difficulties such ministers are forced to wrestle with, and by which the charges, with which they are intrusted, must proportionably suffer, let the integrity and wisdom of the men be what it can be supposed to be. Neither is the patience, temper and dexterity, to carry a man through those straits, easily attained; it being very hard, in the morning of preferment, to keep an even temper of mind, between the care to preserve the dignity of the place committed to him, (without which he shall expose himself to a thousand unchaste attempts, and dishonour the judgment that promoted him, by appearing too vile for such a trust,) and the caution, that his nature be not really exalted to an overweening pride and folly, upon the privilege of his place; which will expose him to much more

contempt than the former; and therefore [is], with a more exact guard upon a man's self, to be avoided: the errors of gentleness and civility being much more easily reformed, as well as endured, than the other of arrogance and ostentation.

The best provision that such men can make for their voyage, besides a stock of innocency that cannot be impaired, and a firm confidence in God Almighty, that he will never suffer that innocency to be utterly oppressed, or notoriously defamed, is, an expectation of those gusts and storms of rumour, detraction, and envy; and a resolution not to be over sensible of all calumnies, unkindness, or injustice; but to believe, that, by being preferred before other men, they have an obligation upon them, to suffer more than other men would do; and that the best way to convince scandals, and misreports, is, by neglecting them, to appear not to have deserved them. And there is not a more troublesome passion, or that often draws more inconveniences with it, than that which proceeds from the indignation of being unjustly calumniated, and from the pride of an upright conscience; when men cannot endure to be spoken ill of, if they have not deserved it: in which distemper, though they free themselves from the errors, or infirmities, with which they were traduced, they commonly discover others, of which they had never been suspected. In a word, let no man think, that is once entered into the list, he can by any skill, or comportment, prevent these conflicts and assaults; or by any stubborn or impetuous humour, suppress and prevail over them: but let him look upon it as purgatory he is unavoidably to pass through, and depend

upon Providence, and time, for a vindication; and by performing all the duties of his place to the end with justice, integrity, and uprightness, give all men cause to believe, he was worthy of it the first hour, which is a triumph very lawful to be affected.

As these distempers, indispositions, and infirmities of particular men had a great influence upon the public affairs, and disturbed and weakened the whole frame and fabric of the king's designs; so no particular man was more disquieted by them, than the king himself; who, in his person, as well as in his business, suffered all the vexation of the rude, petulant, and discontented humours of court and army. His majesty now paid interest for all the benefit and advantage he had received in the beginning of the war, by his gentleness, and princely affability to all men, and by descending somewhat from the forms of majesty, which he had, in his former life, observed with all punctuality. He vouchsafed then himself to receive any addresses, and overtures for his service, and to hold discourse with all men who brought devotion to him; and he must be now troubled with the complaints, and murmurs, and humours of all; and how frivolous and unreasonable soever the cause was, his majesty was put both to inform and temper their understandings. No man would receive an answer but from himself, and expected a better from him, than he must have been contented to have received from any body else. Every man magnified the service he had done, and his ability and interest to do greater, and proposed honour and reward equal to both in his own sense. And if he received not an answer to his mind, he grew sullen, complained,

"he was neglected," and resolved, or pretended so, "to quit the service, and to travel into some "foreign kingdom." He is deceived that believes the ordinary carriage and state of a king to be matters of indifferency, and of no relation to his greatness. They are the outworks, which preserve majesty itself from approaches and surprisal. We find that the queen of Sheba was amazed at the meat of Solomon's table, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel, and his cupbearers, &c. as so great instances of Solomon's wisdom, that *there was no more spirit in her*. And no doubt, whosoever inconsiderately departs from those forms, and trappings, and ornaments of his dignity and preeminence, will hardly, at some time, be able to preserve the body itself of majesty, from intrusion, invasion, and violation.

And let no man think, that the king had now no hard task to master these troubles, and that a short and sharp blast of royal severity would easily have dispersed these clouds. The disease was too violent and catching, and the contagion too universal, to be cured by that remedy; neither were the symptoms, or effects, the same in all constitutions. It cannot be imagined, into how many several shapes men's indispositions were put, and the many artifices which were used to get honours, offices, preferments, and the waywardness and perverseness, which attended the being disappointed of their own hopes. One man had been named for such a place, that is, himself and his friends had given it out, that he should have it, when, it may be, he was too modest to pretend to it; and upon

this vogue he had a title; and if it should be conferred upon another, it would be a mark of the king's disfavour to him; and thereby he should lose the ability, and credit, without which he could do no farther service. Another suggested, that his friends and companions in consort had all received some obligation, and if he alone should remain without some testimony of favour, it would be a brand upon him of some signal unworthiness. No man was so hardhearted to himself, as not to be able to give a reason for any thing he desired; and he commonly had best success, who prosecuted his own wishes with most boldness and importunity; neither was there a better, or another reason for some men's preferment, than that they had set their hearts upon it, and would have it. And it was a great temptation to modest natures, to find forward men had so good fortune, that the want of success began to be imputed to want of wit.

I remember, once, a person of good quality, and of a good name in action, came to me very pensive, and told me, "how conscientiously he had served "the king, without any private designs, or other "thoughts, than the discharge of his own duty, "and rendering the performance of that duty "acceptable to his majesty; yet that, to his un-"speakable discomfort, he found, he had been "misrepresented to the king, and that his majesty "had entertained a sinister opinion of him, and "desired me to learn what the ground of the pre-"judice was, and by my good testimony to endea-"vour to remove it." I had a very good opinion of the person, and believed the king had so, and therefore persuaded him, that the jealousy was

groundless, and pressed to know, from whence he received those impressions; he excused himself in the particular, and assured me, "that he had his "advertisement from a sure hand, which was to "be concealed, and not doubted; that, upon my "inquiry, I would find it true, though he could "not imagine the cause." I promised him, "I "would press the king very heartily in it, and if "there were any thing that stuck with him, I pre-"sumed his majesty would be so gracious to let "me know it;" and accordingly, having shortly after an opportunity to wait on his majesty, I told him the true narrative of what had passed, with my observation of the general comportment of that gentleman, and besought his majesty, "if any ill "offices had been done him, or that any prejudice "towards him was lodged in his royal breast, that "he would graciously vouchsafe to tell me what it "was, and that he would allow him an access, to "clear himself from any imputations." The king very cheerfully assured me, "that he had not only "a very good opinion of that gentleman, but that "he was most assured, he had no real suspicion to "the contrary;" and therefore bad me "proceed "to the other part of my business." I told him, "I had no more, and that I was sure, I should "make a very happy man by satisfying him of "what I found." Then said the king, "You are "not throughly instructed, for the other half of "this business must be a suit." I replied, "if "that were so, I was yet more ignorant than I "suspected myself." The gentleman shortly after came to me, in pain, as I thought, with the jealousy of being in umbrage; and when I gave him

pregnant assurance to the contrary, with the mention of some expressions the king had used, which were indeed very gracious, he seemed to receive it with such a countenance and gusto, that I verily believed he had had his heart's desire. But, the next morning, he came to me again, and told me, "that I had made him abundantly happy, and that "he doubted not there was no just ground for the "other reports, but only the malice of those who "wished them true; yet, that they had lessened "his credit abroad, even with his friends; and "that he found there was no way to keep up his "reputation and interest in the world, whereby "he might be able to do the king service, (which "was all he looked after,) but the receiving some "testimony of the king's good opinion, which "would be a public evidence, that the other dis-"courses were false." I was surprised, and as much out of countenance, as he should have been; and advised him "to patience, and to expect the "king's own time, and method, rather than to "quicken him by any importunity, which would "give an ill relish to any obligation." He would not understand that philosophy, but shortly after found some other means to press the king very roundly for a place, upon the title of that good opinion he had declared to me to hold of him; not without some implication, "that, without some "such earnest of his majesty's goodness, he should "not be able to continue in his service;" which probably was one of the modestest addresses, which were made to him at that time. And it cannot be denied, this way the king's trouble was so great, that he many times suffered more vexation and

trouble from the indisposition and humours of his own people, than from the enemy, or the apprehension of their counsels: which hath made me enlarge this digression so much; conceiving it no less to be a part of history, and more useful to posterity, to leave a character of the times, than of the persons, or the narrative of the matters of fact, which cannot be so well understood, as by knowing the genius that prevailed when they were transacted.

The best expedient his majesty could find to dispel these fumes, was motion and action; and therefore, though the season of the year was too far spent, and too many officers hurt, for the taking the field again, besides that many regiments were returned to their old posts, (as the Welsh to defend their own country from the incursions from Gloucester, and to reduce some towns in Pembrokeshire, which, lying on the sea, by the help of the parliament ships, begun to fortify and gather strength,) yet he resolved his forces about Oxford should not lie still.

In the beginning of October, prince Rupert, with a strong party of horse, foot, and dragoons, marched into Bedfordshire, and took the town of Bedford, and in it a party of the enemy, who used it only as a strong quarter. This expedition was principally to countenance sir Lewis Dives, whilst he fortified Newport Pannel, where he hoped to fix a garrison; which would have made a more direct line of communication with the northern parts, and restrained the commerce between London and their associated counties; which they well understood; and therefore, upon the first news of it, the earl

of Essex removed his head-quarters from Windsor to St. Alban's; and the trained bands of London, and their auxiliary regiments, marched again to him for his recruit; upon the advancement whereof, and a mistake of orders from Oxford, sir Lewis Dives drew off his forces from Newport Pannel; and the enemy presently possessed themselves of it, and made it a very useful garrison. Upon which, prince Rupert fortified Tossiter, a town in Northamptonshire, and left a strong garrison there; which, though it infested the enemy somewhat, and took great revenge upon those counties, which had expressed a violent affection to the parliament, in truth, added little strength to the king; for he lost many horse by the labour of duty, the greatest part of the body of his horse being forced to quarter near that place, for the security of the foot, till the works about the town were in such a forwardness, that they needed not fear their neighbours at St. Alban's.

In the mean time, the power of the parliament was least manifest in the west, where their party was reduced to a lowness, and confined within narrow limits after the taking of Exeter; the gentlemen of that county having been generally well devoted to the king's service, though never able safely to declare it, at least to appear in a posture of opposing the violence of the other party. Prince Maurice found a general concurrence to advance the great work, by levies of money, men, and all offices that could be expected; insomuch as, within very few days after the surrender of that town, his army of foot, by the new levies, contained no fewer than seven thousand men, (which was a body the

west had not before seen,) besides a body of horse, at least proportionable to the other; and all in excellent equipage for action. And at the same time, colonel John Digby was before Plymouth, with above three thousand foot, and six hundred horse, and had taken a work from the enemy of great importance, called Mount Stamford in honour of that earl during the time of his abode there, within half a mile of the town, and which commanded some part of the river; the loss whereof gave the town a marvellous discouragement.

The first error the prince committed after the reducing of Exeter, was staying too long there before he advanced, for victorious armies carry great terror with them, whilst the memory and fame of the victory is fresh. The next, that he moved not directly towards Plymouth, when he did move; which, in all probability, would have yielded upon his approach: for the town was full of distraction, and jealousy amongst themselves, as well as unprovided for the reception of an enemy. It was a rich and populous corporation, being, in time of peace, the greatest port for trade in the west; and, except Bristol, greater than all the rest. There was in it a castle very strong towards the sea, with good platforms and ordnance; and little more than musket-shot from the town, was an island with a fort in it, much stronger than the castle; both which were, before the troubles, under the command of a captain, with a garrison of about fifty men at the most; and [were] only intended for a security, and defence of the town against a foreign invasion; the castle and the island together having a good command of the entrance into the

harbour, but towards the land there was very little strength. This command was in the hands of sir Jacob Ashley, and as unprovided to expect or resist an enemy, as the other castles and forts of the kingdom; there being only ordnance and ammunition, without any other provisions for the support of the soldiers within the walls; less for the receiving a recruit; and the garrison itself being by time, marriages, and trade, incorporated into the town, and rather citizens than soldiers; so that sir Jacob Ashley being sent for to the king, before his setting up his standard, as soon as there was any apprehension of a party for the king in Cornwall, after the appearing of sir Ralph Hopton, and those other gentlemen there, the mayor and corporation of Plymouth quickly got both the castle and island into their own power.

It will be wondered at by many hereafter, that those, and the like places of strength in England, being under the command of persons entirely of his majesty's nomination, were not put into a good posture of defence, when it grew first evident, that there would be shortly occasion to use them; for according to the old story in Ælian, that when in one of the states of Greece, Micippus's sheep brought forth a lion, it was generally and justly concluded, that that portended a tyranny, and change of the state from a peaceable to a bloody government; so when the two houses of parliament first produced a sovereign power, to make, and alter, and suspend laws, before they raised an army, or made a general, or declared war; when that mild and innocent sheep, that legal regular convention of a sober and modest council, had

once brought forth that lion which sought whom he might devour, it might be easily and naturally concluded by all wise and sober men, that the blessed calm, and temperate state of government, by which every man eat the fruit of his own vine, was at an end; and rapine, blood, and desolation, to succeed; and therefore that those holds should, in reason, have been then provided for.

But I shall say here once for all, that from the time that there was any reasonable jealousy of a war, it was never in the king's power to mend the condition of either of those places; and if he had attempted it, with what caution or secrecy soever, the inconvenience he must have sustained by it, besides the failing of his end, would have been much greater than the advantage which could have accrued, if he had done what he desired. I have very ill described the times we have passed through, if that be not apparent; and that it was rather an error of the former times, that those places needed any supply, than that it was not applied to them in the succeeding.

The parliament was very glad Plymouth was thus secured; and, as well to put an obligation upon all corporations, by shewing they thought them capable of the greatest trusts, as because they could not, in truth, more reasonably confide in any other, they committed the government thereof to that mayor; who was well enough instructed, what respect to pay to their committee; which was appointed to reside there for his assistance, and to conduct the affairs in those parts. Of that committee, sir Alexander Carew was one; a gentleman of a good fortune in Cornwall, who

served in parliament as knight for that county, and had, from the beginning of the parliament, concurred in all conclusions with the most violent, with as full a testimony of that zeal and fury, to which their confidence was applied, as any man. To him the custody and government of that fort and island, which was looked upon as the security of the town, was committed; and a sufficient garrison put into it. The mayor commanded the castle and the town, about which a line was cast up of earth, weak and irregular.

After the battle of Stratton, and that the king's forces prevailed so far over the west, that Bristol was taken by them, and Exeter closely besieged, sir Alexander Carew begun to think his island and fort would hardly secure his estate in Cornwall; and understood the law so well (for he had had a good education) to know, that the side he had chosen would be no longer the better, than it should continue the stronger; and having originally followed no other motives, than of popularity and interests, resolved now to redeem his errors; and found means to correspond with some of his old friends and neighbours in Cornwall, and, by them, to make a direct overture to surrender that fort and island to the king, upon an assurance of his majesty's pardon, and a full remission of his offences. Sir John Berkley, who then lay before Exeter, was the next supreme officer, qualified to entertain such a treaty; and he, instantly, by the same conveyance, returned him as ample assurance of his own conditions as could be; with advice, "that he should not, upon any defect of forms, "(which, upon his engagement, should be supplied

" with all possible expedition, to his own satisfac-
" tion,) defer the consummating the work; which
" hereafter, possibly, might not be in his power to
" effect:" designs of that nature being to be consulted and executed together; for in those cases, according to Mutianus in Tacitus, *Qui deliberant, desciverunt;* and the greatest danger attends the not going on. But he was so sottishly and dangerously wary of his own security, (having neither courage enough to obey his conscience, nor wickedness enough to be prosperous against it,) that he would not proceed, till he was sufficiently assured, that his pardon was passed the great seal of England; before which time, though all imaginable haste was made, by the treachery of a servant whom he trusted, his treaty and design was discovered to the mayor, and the rest of the committee; and, according to the diligence used in cases of such concernment, he was suddenly, and without resistance, surprised in his fort, and carried prisoner into Plymouth: and from thence, by sea, sent to London; where what became of him, will be remembered in its place.

Shortly after this accident, colonel Digby came before the town; and though the great damage was by this means prevented, yet it cannot be imagined, but the people were in great distraction, with the apprehension of the danger they had escaped; and those discoveries bring always that melancholy with them, that men are not quickly again brought to a confidence in one another. For no man had, to common understanding, better deserved to be trusted, or given less argument for suspicion: and upon such a defection, who could

hope to stand free from jealousy? Besides, he could not but have had much familiarity with many in the town, which must object them to some suspicion, or, at least, make them suspect that they were suspected; and, without doubt, it awakened many to apprehend the immediate hand of God in the judgment, that he would not suffer a man to recover the security and comfort of his allegiance, who had so signally departed from it against the light of his own conscience; and that a man, who had been before precipitate against all reason, should perish by considering too much, when precipitation was only reasonable.

The fame of the winning of Exeter, by which a victorious army was at liberty to visit them, and then the loss of Mount Stamford, which was their only considerable fortification to the land, with those other discomposures, wrought a wonderful consternation amongst them; and made them consider, that if they could hold out, and defend their town, the country being all lost, they must lose all their trade, and so from merchants become only soldiers; which was not the condition they contended for. Insomuch as the mayor himself was not without a propensity to send for a treaty, upon which the town might be delivered to the king: and it was by many then believed, that if prince Maurice had then marched from Exeter before it, that treaty would infallibly have ensued. But when I say it was an error that he did not, I intend it rather as a misfortune than a fault; for his highness was an utter stranger in those parts; and therefore was not, without great appearance of reason, persuaded first to bend his course to Dart-

mouth; which was looked upon "as an easy work, "and a harbour, which, being got, would draw a "very good trade: and that short work being "performed, Plymouth would have the less courage "to make resistance; and if it should, it were "much fitter for the winter, which was now draw-"ing on," (for it was more than the middle of September,) "than the other, by reason of the "conveniency of good accommodation for the sol-"diers, near about it; which could not be had "about Dartmouth."

Upon these reasons, he marched directly to Dartmouth, which, how unfit soever to make a defence against such an army, by the disadvantage of situation, and the absence of all those helps which use to contract a confidence, he found in no temper and disposition to yield; so that he sat down before it. And shortly after, there came so violent a season of rain, and foul weather, that very many of his men, with lying on the ground, fell sick, and died; and more ran away. Yet, after near a month's siege, and the loss of many good men, (whereof the same colonel Chudleigh, of whom we spake before, was one, a gallant young gentleman, who received a shot with a musket in the body, of which he died within few days, and was a wonderful loss to the king's service,) it was given up on fair conditions; and then the prince, having placed a garrison there, under the command of colonel Seymour, a gentleman of principal account and interest in Devonshire, lost no more time, but, with all convenient expedition, marched to Plymouth; which was not now in the state it had been; for the parliament, being quickly

informed how terrible an impression the loss of almost all other parts of the west had made upon the spirits of that people, had before this time sent a recruit of five hundred men, and a Scotch officer to be governor; who eased the mayor of that unequal charge, and quickly made it evident, that nothing but a peremptory defence was thought of. So the prince sat down before it with an army much inferior, after he had joined with colonel Digby, to that with which he had marched from Exeter to Dartmouth; yet with much confidence to reduce that town, before the winter should be over.

Though the king's success, and good fortune, had met with a check in the relief of Gloucester, and the battle of Newbury, yet his condition seemed mightily improved by the whole summer's service. For whereas he seemed before confined, upon the matter, within Oxfordshire and half Berkshire, (which half was lost too upon the loss of Reading in the spring,) and the parties, which appeared for him in other counties, seemed rather sufficient to hinder a general union against him, than that they were like to reduce them to his devotion; he was now, upon the matter, master of the whole west; Cornwall was his own without a rival; Plymouth was the only place, in all Devonshire, unreduced; and those forces shut within their own walls: the large rich county of Somerset with Bristol, the second county in the kingdom, entirely his: in Dorsetshire, the enemy had only two little fisher-towns, Poole and Lyme; all the rest was declared for the king. And in every of these counties, he had plenty of harbours and ports, to supply him with ammuni-

tion, and the country with trade. In Wiltshire the enemy had not the least footing, and rather a town or two in Hampshire, than any possession of the county; that people being generally undevoted to them: the whole principality of Wales, except a sea town or two in Pembrokeshire, was at his devotion; and that unfortunate obstinate town of Gloucester only kept him from commanding the whole Severn. The parliament was nothing stronger in Shropshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, than they were in the beginning of the year. And albeit the marquis of Newcastle had been forced to rise as unfortunately from Hull, as the king had been from Gloucester, yet he had still a full power over Yorkshire, and a greater in Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire, than the parliament had. So that he might be thought to be now strong enough to make war; the contrary opinion whereof had been one of the greatest reasons that there was no peace. And therefore many believed, that, what appearance soever there was of obstinacy, the winter would produce some overtures of accommodation; and that all the noise of preparation from Scotland, was only to incline the king to the greater condescensions; and that, in truth, they who had pretended the concurrent desire of the people, as the best reason for whatsoever they had proposed, and traduced the king with a purpose of bringing in foreign forces to awe and impose upon his own subjects, would not now have the hardiness to bring in a stranger nation to invade their country, and to compel that people, by whose affections they would be thought to be guided, to submit to changes they had no mind to receive.

And the arrival of the count of Harcourt, as extraordinary ambassador from the crown of France, was looked upon as an expedient to usher in some treaty, and to remove those ceremonies, and preliminary propositions, which, by reason of the mutual declarations and protestations against each other, might be thought of greater difficulty, than any real differences between them.

The king himself was not without expectation of notable effects from this embassy; for the state of France seemed to be much altered from what it was at the beginning of these troubles. Cardinal Richelieu, who, the king well knew, had more than fomented the troubles both in England and Scotland, was now dead; and the king of France himself likewise; and those old ministers of state who had been long in the bastile, or banished, were now set at liberty, and recalled, and in favour; the queen mother made regent; who professed great personal kindness to the queen of England, and so great a sense of the indignities the king and she suffered, that she seemed sensible, that France had contributed too much to them, and to think, that the interest, as well as honour, of that crown was concerned to buoy up the monarchy of England; with intimations, "that the king himself should "direct what way he would be served by that "crown." The first evidence they gave of meaning as they said, was the revocation of monsieur la Ferté Senneterre, the ambassador then resident in England; who had contracted a wonderful familiarity with the fiercest managers of the parliament, and done the king all imaginable disservice; insomuch as he had industriously persuaded some

English priests and Jesuits, to engage those of the Romish persuasion, by no means to assist the king; with a full assurance, "that the parliament would "allow them liberty of conscience." This minister his majesty desired might be recalled; which was not only suddenly done, but a private intimation likewise [given] to our queen, "that she should "nominate what person should be employed in his "place; who should wholly guide himself by her "instructions:" and her majesty was led to make choice of monsieur le conte d'Harcourt, one of the principal persons of that kingdom, being a prince of the house of Lorraine, and so allied to the king, and grand escuier of France; and had been their late fortunate general in Catalonia, where he had given the Spaniard the greatest defeat they had received; which was not thought an unseasonable qualification in an ambassador, whose business was to mediate a peace.

His reception at London was with much solemnity, that he might not find there was any absence of ceremony or state, by the absence of the king; yet when he had a safe conduct for Oxford, his carriages were stopped at the going out of London, and his own coach, as well as all other places, searched with great and unusual rudeness, upon suspicion that he carried letters; and though he expostulated the affront, as a high violation of his honour and privilege, he received no manner of reparation, or the officer, that did it, any reprehension; which made many believe that he would have been very keen in the resentment. The king expected that, by this ambassador, the crown of France would have made a brisk declaration on his

majesty's behalf; and if the parliament should not return to their regular obedience, that they should have found no correspondence or reception in that kingdom; and that they would really assist his majesty, in such a manner as he should propose; which declaration, he thought, would prove of moment with the city of London, in respect of their trade; but more with the Scots, who were understood to have an especial dependence upon France.

When the ambassador returned from his audience at Oxford, where he stayed not many days, he sent a paper to the earl of Northumberland, by which he desired his lordship, "to impart to the "messieurs of parliament, that he had made "known to their majesties, the affectionate desire "the king his master, and the queen his mistress, "had to contribute all good offices, in the pro-"curement of peace and tranquillity in this king-"dom; to which he found the desires of their "majesties well disposed; and therefore he desired "to know, if his lordship thought the two houses "did correspond in the same intention: if they "did, after they should make him understand the "subject that had obliged them to take up arms, "he would interpose to pacify the differences, by "such expedients, as should be most conform-"able to the ancient laws and customs of the "realm."

After the earl of Northumberland had informed the house of peers of this representation, it was, at a conference, imparted to the house of commons, and an answer was framed by joint agreement, to be returned by the earl of Northumberland to the

ambassador. In the form of it, they gave him the title of *prince of Harcourt*, and *grand escuier of France;* but omitted that of *extraordinary ambassador in England*, because it did not appear to the parliament, by letters of credence, or the sight of his instructions from the king, or queen regent of France, that he was by them employed extraordinary ambassador into England.

The answer itself was, "that the lords and "commons in parliament did, with all due respects, "accept of the affectionate desires of the king, "and queen regent of France, to contribute good "offices towards the procuring a happy peace; "and that, when the said monsieur le prince "d'Harcourt should make any such propositions "to the parliament, by authority from their "majesties of France, they would give then such "an answer to the same, as might stand with the "interest of both kingdoms, and their late solemn "league and covenant." The lords proposed, "that there might be a committee appointed to "treat with the ambassador:" but the commons would by no means consent to it, "till he should "make it manifest, that he had authority from "his master to treat with the parliament;" and withal they declared, "that if he had, at any "time, any thing farther to offer to them, they "would not receive it from any particular member "of either house; but that he should apply him-"self by writing, or otherwise, to the speaker of "either or both houses of parliament; otherwise, "they would hold no correspondence with him." The ground of this resolution was, that they might draw from the ambassador (which they presumed

could not be without the privity and approbation of the king) an address, and acknowledgment that they were a parliament, against the freedom whereof, and consequently the present being, his majesty had, by his late proclamation, declared. So the ambassador, after a journey or two to Oxford, and some perfunctory addresses to the houses, returned to France *re infecta*, and without the least expression of dislike, on his master's behalf, of their proceedings.

They were scrupulous in believing that France really intended to repair the mischief it had done; and observed, that though there were some plausible compliances, in point of ceremony, with particular persons, after the death of the former cardinal; yet, that the main counsels were carried on upon the rules and directions he had left; and that the cardinal Mazarin, a person of the highest trust with the other, wholly now presided over those counsels; and considered, how much France might imagine it would conduce to their interest, that the king of England should not have all his subjects in perfect obedience, lest he might offer to be an arbiter of their great differences: I say, these men believed count Harcourt's instructions privately were no other, than the last ambassador's; whom the king had caused to be recalled. And it cannot be denied, that they who were inclined to that jealousy, had arguments enough to increase it.

When this extraordinary ambassador was appointed to come for England, Mr. Mountague was in the court of France, very much trusted by both their majesties, and by his quality, and near rela-

tion to so great a trust, his long conversation in that court, and a singular dexterity in his nature, adorned with excellent parts, was thought to have a very good place in the favour and particular estimation of the queen regent, and in the opinion of the cardinal; to whom he had been useful. With this gentleman most of the conclusions had been transacted, which were preparatory to the ambassador's journey; and it was thought fit, that he should at the same time come into England; and, in such a disguise, as might easily conceal a man better known in France than in his own country, in the ambassador's train find a safe passage to Oxford; which was carried with so much secrecy, that, besides to the ambassador himself, he was known to very few of his retinue. The count of Harcourt was not landed four and twenty hours, but in his journey towards London, a messenger from the parliament apprehended Mr. Mountague, and carried him a prisoner to the houses; by whom he was committed to the Tower; and though the ambassador made a great show of resenting it, he never claimed him in such a manner as to procure his enlargement; which made men believe the cardinal liked well his confinement, and desired not he should be either at Oxford or Paris.

At the ambassador's first coming to Oxford, after general overtures, and declarations of the resolution of that crown, "to give his majesty all "possible assistance for his reestablishment," he proposed a league offensive and defensive with the king. His majesty, that knew well such an offer was not to be rejected, lest they should from

thence take an occasion to refuse those things he should propose, appointed a committee of his council (according to the usual course) to treat with the ambassador, upon all necessary articles, which should attend such a treaty; declaring an inclination to enter into such a league as was proposed; and thereupon desired "a present loan of "money, and a supply of a good proportion of "arms and ammunition; and likewise that the "crown of France would declare against his sub-"jects of England and Scotland, who would "persist in rebellion; according to an article "ratified in the last treaty of the league now in "force."

The ambassador, who, it seems, expected that there should have been more pauses in the overture of the league offensive and defensive, for the present declined the treating with the committee; alleging, "that he was, upon the matter, a minis-"ter of both their majesties; and was to receive "command from them, and wholly to attend their "service; and therefore that he desired wholly to "communicate with their majesties themselves:" and shortly after waved any farther mention of the league, with a French compliment, "that it would "not appear a generous thing, to press the king "to any act in this his distress, which he had "made scruple of consenting to heretofore, when "the fortune of both crowns were equally pro-"sperous: but that his master and mistress would "frankly contribute all that could be reasonably "expected from them, towards his majesty's re-"storation and establishment; and afterwards "expect such a return of affection from his ma-

"jesty, as the greatness of the obligation should "merit in his princely estimation." And at the same time, the queen regent and cardinal positively denied to the lord Goring, ambassador extraordinary then from his majesty in France, that ever the count of Harcourt had any instruction to mention a league offensive and defensive. These particular carriages, and his not resenting the indignities offered to him by the parliament, made many men believe, that this ambassador, notwithstanding all the specious professions, was sent rather to foment, than extinguish, the fire that was kindled. Certain it is, during his stay in England, he did not, in the least degree, advance the king's service; and, at his return, left the parliament more united amongst themselves against the king, and the Scots more advanced towards their coming in, than he found them; there being at the same time likewise a French agent in Scotland; who produced no alteration in the affections of that people, to the king's advantage.

The return of the three earls [formerly mentioned] to London in the winter, who so solemnly applied themselves to the king in the spring, contributed exceedingly to the union of the two houses at Westminster. The other two stayed longer; and retired with much more decency, if not with a tacit permission. But the earl of Holland, when he saw his place in the bedchamber conferred upon the marquis of Hertford, in much discontent, found an opportunity, which was not difficult, to remove out of the king's quarters; and before he was missed at Oxford, intelligence was brought that he had rendered himself to the parliament at London;

and to make his return the more conscientious, he declared, "that the ground of his deserting "them formerly, and going to the king, was a "hope to incline his majesty to a treaty of peace; "but that he found he was mistaken in the temper "of the Oxford councils; and that the king had "still about him some counsellors, who would "never consent to a safe and well-grounded peace; "and that he heard they had persuaded the king "to make a cessation with the rebels in Ireland; "which affected his conscience so much, that, "though he had been sure to have lost his life by "it, he would return to the parliament;" professing exemplary fidelity to them, if they would again receive him into their favour.

It may be, his discourse of Ireland, or the king's averseness to peace, wrought upon very few; but the evidence of the king's aversion so far to forgive and forget former trespasses, as to receive them into favour and trust again, made a deep impression upon many. For it is undoubtedly true, that many of the principal and governing members of both houses, that is, of them who had governed, and done as much mischief as any, either out of apprehension that the king would prevail, or that they should not prevail soon enough, or the animosity against those who had outgrown their government, and followed new leaders of their own, and to other ends than had been originally proposed, or out of some motions of conscience, were quite weary of the parliament, and desirous to obtain a fair admission to the king; and looked only upon the footing which those doves, which went first out of the ark, should find; and surely,

if that expedient had been dexterously managed, it had been the most probable way to have drawn the parliament into such contempt, that it must have fallen of itself: and it is a way, that in no civil war, which is arrived to any vigour and power of contending, ought to be declined. For a body, that is not formed by policy, with any avowed and fixed principles of government, but by the distempered affections, ambition, and discontent of particular persons, who rather agree against a common adversary, than are united to one just interest, cannot so easily be dissolved, as by tampering with particular persons, and rending those branches from the trunk, whose beauty and advantage consists only in the spreading.

And the reasons were unanswerable, which the old consul Fabius in Livy, lib. 24, gave, in the case of Cassius Altinius, who, after the defeat of Cannæ, deserted the Romans, and fled to Hannibal, by which he got the city of Arpos; and when the condition of the Romans was again recovered and flourishing, came again to the Roman army, and offered to betray that city into their hands. Many were of opinion, "that he should be looked upon "as a common enemy; and bound, and sent to "Hannibal, as a perfidious person, who knew "neither how to be a friend nor an enemy." Fabius reprehended the unseasonable severity of those who considered, and judged *in medio ardore belli, tanquam in pace libera*, and told them, "that "their principal care must be, that none of their "friends and allies might forsake them; the next, "that they who had forsaken them, might return "again into their obedience and protection: for,

" *si abire a Romanis liceat, redire ad eos non liceat,*
" it could not be, but the state of Rome, from
" whom, in the late misfortunes, many had revolted,
" must become very desperate."

Such was the king's condition, the number of the guilty being so much superior to the innocent, that the latter could reasonably expect only to be preserved by the conversion and reduction of the former. Neither did the king not foresee, or abhor this expedient; but the temper and spirit of the time was so averse from the stratagem, that it was evident his present loss would be as great, by practising it, as his future advantage was like to improve by it. And whatever damage his majesty sustained, that unfortunate earl received no acknowledgment, or encouragement from the other party, who had the benefit of his return; but as his estate was sequestered as soon as he left them, so he was now committed to prison, and that sequestration continued; neither was it, in a long time after, taken off, nor himself ever after admitted to his place in their council, notwithstanding all the intercession of very powerful friends, or to any reputation of doing farther good or hurt.

And verily, there must be thought to be some dislike, in the very primary law of nature, of such tergiversation and inconstancy; since we scarce find, in any story, a deserter of a trust or party, he once adhered to, to be long prosperous, or in any eminent estimation with those to whom he resorts; though, in the change, there may appear evident arguments of reason and justice; neither hath it been in the power or prerogative of any authority, to preserve such men from the reproach, and

jealousy, and scandal, that naturally attends upon any defection: *I have not found evil in thee, since the day of thy coming unto me, unto this day; nevertheless, the lords favour thee not,* was the profession of king Achish, when he dismissed David himself from marching with the army of the Philistines; and that expostulation of those lords, *wherewith should he reconcile himself unto his master? should it not be with the heads of these men?* will be always an argumentation to raise a distrust of those who have eminently quitted their party: and the judgment of Fabius himself, which we touched before, of Cassius Altinius, was not much in their favour; for though he reprehended the proposition of sending him to Hannibal, yet he concluded, "that he would have no trust reposed in him, but "that he should be kept in safe custody, with "liberty to do any thing but go away, till the war "was ended; *tum consultandum, utrum defectio "prior plus merita sit pœnæ, an hic reditus veniæ.*" And as it fares thus in civil affairs, and the breach of moral obligations, so it happens in spiritual defections, and alterations in religion: for as, among the Jews, the proselytes were civilly and charitably treated, without upbraidings or reproaches; yet it was provided, "that no proselyte should be eligible "into the court of their Sanhedrim;" and in their very conversation, they had a caution of them: *Vel ad decimam usque generationem a proselytis cave,* was an aphorism amongst them. So our observation and experience can give us few examples of men who have changed their religion, and not fallen into some jealousy and distrust, or disreputation, even with those with whom they side; that have

made their future life less pleasant and delightsome; which, it may be, is only because we have rare instances of men of extraordinary parts, or great minds, who have entertained those conversions.

The lords and commons were all now of a mind, and no other contention amongst them, than who should most advance the power which was to suppress the king's: new and stricter orders were made for the general taking the covenant; and an ordinance, "that no man should be in any office "or trust in their armies, or the kingdom, or of the "common council of London, or should have a "voice in the election of those officers, but such "who had taken the covenant; nor even they who "had taken the covenant, if they had been for-"merly imprisoned, or sequestered for suspicion of "malignancy, or adhering to the king." And that they might as well provide for their sovereign jurisdiction in civil matters, as their security in martial, they again resumed the consideration of the great seal of England. The commons had often pressed the house of peers to concur with them, "in the making a new great seal; as the "proper remedy against those mischiefs, which, by "the absence of it, had befallen the commonwealth;" declaring, "that the great seal of England, of "right, ought to attend upon the parliament;" in which the peers as often refused to join with them, being startled at the statute of the 25th of Edward III. by which, the counterfeiting the great seal of England is, in express terms, declared to be high treason; and it had been in all times before understood to be the sole property of the king, and not of the kingdom, and absolutely in the king's own

disposal, where it should be kept, or where it should attend.

This dissent of the lords hindered not the business; the commons frankly voted, "that a seal "should be provided," and accordingly took order that one was engraven, and brought into their house, according to the same size and effigies, and nothing differing from that which the king used at Oxford. Being in this readiness, and observing the lords to be less scrupulous than they had been, about the middle of November they sent again to them, to let them know, "they had a great seal "ready, which should be put into the custody of "such persons as the two houses should appoint; "and if they would name some peers, a proportion- "able number of the other body should join in the "executing that trust." All objections were now answered, and without any hesitation their lordships not only concurred with them to have a seal in their own disposal, but in a declaration and ordinance; by which they declared, "all letters patents, "and grants made by the king, and passed the "great seal of England, after the 22d of May in "the year 1642, (which was the day the lord keeper "left the house, and went with the great seal to "York to the king,) to be invalid, and void in law; "and henceforward, that their own great seal "should be of the like force, power, and validity, to "all intents and purposes, as any great seal of "England had been, or ought to be; and that "whosoever, after publication of that ordinance, "should pass any thing under any other great "seal, or should claim any thing thereby, should "be held and adjudged a public enemy to the "state."

At the same time, the earls of Rutland and Bullingbrook, of the peers, Mr. Saint-John, (whom they still entitled the king's solicitor general, though his majesty had revoked his patent, and conferred that office upon sir Thomas Gardner; who had served him faithfully, and been put out of his recorder's place of London, for having so done,) sergeant Wild, (who, being a sergeant at law, had with most confidence averred their legal power to make a seal,) Mr. Brown, and Mr. Prideaux, two private practisers of the law, were nominated "to have the keeping, ordering, and disposing of it, and all such, "and the like power and authority, as any lord "chancellor, or lord keeper, or commissioner of "the great seal, for the time being, had had, used, "or ought to have." The earl of Rutland was so modest, as to think himself not sufficiently qualified for such a trust; and therefore excused himself in point of conscience: whereupon they nominated, in his room, the earl of Kent, a man of far meaner parts, who readily accepted the place.

The seal then was delivered, in the house of commons, to their speaker; and by him, with much solemnity, the house attending him, to the speaker of the peers, at the bar in that house. The six commissioners were then, in the presence of both houses, solemnly sworn, "to execute the office of "keepers of the great seal of England, in all things "according to the orders and directions of both "houses of parliament." And thereupon the seal was delivered by the two speakers to them, who carried it, according to order, to the house of the clerk of the parliament, in the old palace; where it was kept locked up in a chest; which could not be

opened but in the presence of three of them, and with three several keys. This work being over, they appointed, for the first exercise of this kind of sovereignty, a patent to be sealed to the earl of Warwick, of lord high admiral of England; which was done accordingly; by which many concluded, that the earl of Northumberland, who had been put out of that great office for their sakes, was not restored to their full confidence; others, that he desired not to wear their livery.

About the same time, to shew that they would be absolute, and not joint sharers in the sovereign power, they gave an instance of boldness mingled with cruelty, that made them appear very terrible. The king had published several proclamations, for the adjournment of the term from London to Oxford, which had been hitherto fruitless, for want of the necessary legal form of having the writs read in court; so that the judges who were ready to perform their duty, could not regularly keep the courts at Oxford; which else they would have done, notwithstanding the order and declarations published by the two houses to the contrary; they who were learned in the law believing that assumption to be unquestionably out of their jurisdiction. These writs of adjournment had never yet been delivered seasonably, to be read in court, or into the hands of either of the sworn judges, who yet attended at Westminster; of which there were three in number, justice Bacon in the king's bench, justice Reeve in the common pleas, and baron Trevor in the exchequer; who, how timorous soever, and apprehensive of the power and severity of the parliament, knowing the law and their duties, men believed, would

not have barefaced declined the execution of those commands they were sworn to observe. Several messengers were therefore sent from Oxford with those writs; and appointed, on or before such a day, (for that circumstance was penal,) "to find "an opportunity to deliver the writs into the hands "of the several judges." Two of them performed their charges, and delivered the writs to justice Reeve, and baron Trevor; who immediately caused the messengers to be apprehended.

And the houses, being informed of it, gave direction, "that they should be tried by a council of "war, as spies;" which was done at Essex-house. The messengers alleged, "that they were sworn "servants to his majesty for the transaction of "those services, for which they were now accused; "and that they had been legally punishable, if they "had refused to do their duties; the term being to "be adjourned by no other way." Notwithstanding all which, they were both condemned to be hanged as spies; and that such a sentence might not be thought to be only *in terrorem*, the two poor men were, within few days after, carried to the old Exchange, where a gallows was purposely set up; and there one of them, one Daniel Kniveton, was without mercy executed; dying with another kind of courage than could be expected from a man of such condition and education, did not the conscience of being innocent beget a marvellous satisfaction in any condition. The other, after he had stood some time upon, or under the gallows, looking for the same conclusion, was reprieved, and sent to Bridewell; where he was kept long after, till he made an escape, and returned again to Ox-

ford. This example begot great terror in all the well affected about London, and so much the more, because, about the same time, an ordinance was made, "that whosoever went to Oxford, or into "any of the king's quarters, without leave from "one of the houses, or a pass from their general, "or whosoever had any correspondence with any "person in the king's quarters, by writing letters, "or receiving letters from thence, should be pro-"ceeded against as a person disaffected to the "state; and his person committed, and his estate "sequestered; and should be liable, according to "the circumstances, (of which themselves would be "only judges,) to be tried as spies."

As this made them exceeding terrible to those who loved them not, so, about the same time, they gave another instance of severity, which rendered their government no less reverenced amongst their friends and associates. The brave defence of Glou cester, and the great success that attended it, made the loss of Bristol the more felt; and consequently the delivery, and yielding it up, the more liberally spoken of, and censured. The which colonel Fiennes having not patience to bear, he desired, being a member of the house of commons, and of a swaying interest there, "that he might be put to give "an account of it at a court of war, which was the "proper judicature upon trespasses of that nature." And in the mean time, he was powerful enough, upon some collateral and circumstantial passages, to procure some of the chief who inveighed against him, to be imprisoned and reprehended. This begat greater passion and animosity in the persons, that thought they suffered unjustly, and only by the

authority and interest of the colonel and his father; which, by degrees, brought faction into the house of commons, and the army, according to the several affections and tempers of men.

There were but two prosecutors appeared, one Mr. Walker, a gentleman of Somersetshire, of a good fortune, and, by the loss of that, the more provoked; who had been in the town when it was lost, and had strictly observed all that was done, or said; and the famous Mr. Pryn, who had at first let himself into the disquisition, out of the activity and restlessness of his nature, and was afterwards sharpened by contempt. These two, under pretence of zeal to the kingdom, and that such an irreparable damage to it might not pass away without due punishment, undertook the prosecution; and boldly charged the colonel with cowardice and treachery; and gave several instances of great and high professions, and performances faint, and not answerable; with some mixtures of pride, and love of money, throughout the course of his government. Colonel Fiennes, besides the credit and reputation of his father, had a very good stock of estimation in the house of commons upon his own score; for truly he had very good parts of learning and nature, and was privy to, and a great manager in, the most secret designs from the beginning; and if he had not incumbered himself with command in the army, to which men thought his nature not so well disposed, he had sure been second to none in those councils, after Mr. Hambden's death. This made him too much despise those who appeared his adversaries, and others whom he knew to be such, though they appeared not, (for he looked upon sir

William Waller as an enemy, who, [by his] misfortune at Roundway-down, having brought that storm upon Bristol, was industrious to make the second loss to be apprehended only as the effect of the other's want of courage and conduct,) and being sure, that he was very free from wishing well to the king, he thought no defect would be farther imputed to him, than might well be answered by the having done his best; and that the eminency of his perfect zeal against his majesty would weigh down all objections of disservice to the parliament.

But notwithstanding all this, after a long and solemn hearing before the court of war, at St. Alban's, where the earl of Essex then lay, which took up many days, he was condemned to lose his head, "for not having defended Bristol so well, "and so long, as he ought to have done." And though he had afterwards a pardon for his life, granted to him by the prerogative of the general, under his hand and seal, yet the infamy of the judgment could not be taken off; by which he became unfit to continue an officer of the army; and the shame of it persuaded him to quit the kingdom; so that he went for some time into foreign parts, retaining still the same full disaffection to the government of the church and state, and only grieved that he had a less capacity left to do hurt to either. Many looked upon this example as a foundation of great awe and reverence in the army, that the officers might see, that no titles or relations should be able to break through the strict discipline of war. For this gentleman was a person of singular merit, and fidelity to the party that he served, and of extraordinary use to them in those

counsels that required the best understandings. Others thought it an act of unadvised severity, to expose so eminent a person, who knew all their intrigues, upon the importunity of useless and inconsiderable persons, to infamy; whilst others considered it as a judgment of Heaven upon a man who had been so forward in promoting the public calamities: and no doubt, it increased much the factions and animosities, both in the parliament and the army; and might have done them farther mischief, if it had not fallen on a man so throughly engaged, that no provocations could make him less of their party, or less concerned in their confederacy.

Nothing troubled the king so much, as the intelligence he received from Scotland, that they had already formed their army, and resolved to enter England in the winter season. All his confidence, which he had founded there upon the faith and most solemn professions of particular men, without whom the nation could not have been corrupted, had deceived him to a man; and he found the same men most engaged against him, who had, with most solemnity, vowed all obedience to him. And the circumstance of the time made the danger of the invasion the more formidable; for the earl of Newcastle, who was lately created a marquis, had been compelled with his army, as much by the murmurs and indisposition of the officers, as by the season of the year, to quit his design upon Hull, and to retire to York; and the garrison at Hull had made many strong infalls into the country, and defeated some of his troops; so that the Scots were like to find a strong party in that large county.

However, the marquis sent a good body of horse towards the borders, to wait their motion; and no sooner heard of their march, which begun in January, in a great frost and snow, than himself marched into the bishopric of Durham to attend them. The particulars of all that affair, and the whole transaction of the northern parts, where the writer of this history was never present, nor had any part in those counsels, are fit for a relation apart; which a more proper person will employ himself in.

In these straits, the king considered two expedients which were proposed to him, and which his majesty directed should be both consulted in the council. The one was, "that all the peers who "were then in Oxford, or in the king's service, "might subscribe a letter to the council of state in "Scotland; whereby it would appear, by the sub-"scription, that above five parts of six of the whole "nobility, and house of peers, were in the king's "service, and disavowed all those actions which "were done against him, by the pretended author-"ity of the two houses; which possibly might "make some impression upon the nation of Scot-"land, though it was well enough known to their "seducers." A letter was prepared accordingly, expressing "the foulness of the rebellion in Eng-"land, under the reputation of the houses of par-"liament, and the carrying on the same, when they "had driven away, by force, much the major part "of the members of both houses, and expressly "against all the laws of the land:" it put them in mind of "their obligation to the king," and pathetically concluded "with conjuring them to desist "from their unjust and unwarrantable purpose;

"since they could have no excuse for prosecuting "the same, from the authority of parliament." The letter was perused, and debated in the council, and afterwards in the presence of all the peers; and being generally approved without any dissenting voice, it was ordered to be engrossed, and signed by all those peers, and privy-counsellors, who were then in Oxford, and to be sent to those who were absent in any of the armies, or in the king's quarters, and to be then sent to the marquis of Newcastle; who, after he had signed it, with those peers who were in those parts, was to transmit it into Scotland by a trumpet; all which was done accordingly.

Of all the peers who followed the king, there was only one who refused to sign this letter, the earl of Leicester; who, after many pauses and delays, whether he had not yet digested his late deposal from the lieutenancy of Ireland, to which the marquis of Ormond was deputed, and thought the disobligation of it not capable of a reparation, or whether he thought the king's fortune desperate, and resolved not to sacrifice himself to any popular displeasure, and not to provoke the parliament farther than by not concurring with them; or whether he had it then in his purpose to be found in their quarters, as shortly after he was, did in the end positively refuse to subscribe the letter; and thereby was the occasion of a mischief he did not intend. For both their majesties, in their secret purpose, had designed him to succeed the marquis of Hertford in the government of the prince; for which he would have been very proper; but upon this so affected a discovery of a nature, and mind,

liable to no kind of compliance, the king could not prosecute his purpose; and so the government of that hopeful and excellent prince was committed to the earl of Berkshire, for no other reason but because he had a mind to it, and his importunity was very troublesome: a man of any who bore the name of a gentleman, the most unfit for that province, or any other that required any proportion of wisdom and understanding for the discharge of it.

But it was the unhappy temper of the court at that time, to think that it was no matter who was employed in that office; for the king nor queen were not at all deceived, nor was the earl less fit than they thought him to be; but they thought his want of parts (his fidelity there was no cause to suspect) to be of little importance: and a counsellor, much trusted, speaking at that time with the lord Jermyn, "how astonishing a thing it was to "all the nation, to see the prince committed to "such a governor," he smiled, according to his custom, when he could not answer; and said, "it "was of no moment, who had the name and style "of governor, since the king and queen meant to "be his governor, and firmly resolved that he "should never be out of their presence, or of one "of them:" when, within little more than a year after, the king found it necessary to sever the prince from him, and lived not to see him again: and he then found, and lamented, that he had deputed such a governor over him.

The other expedient proposed by the chancellor was, "that since the whole kingdom was misled by "the reverence they had to parliaments, and believed that the laws and liberties of the people

"could not be otherwise preserved, than by their "authority, and that it appeared to be to no "purpose to persuade men that what they did was "against law, when they were persuaded that their "very doing it made it lawful, it would be therefore "necessary, and could be only effectual to convince "them, that they who did those monstrous things "were not the parliament, but a handful of de-"sperate persons, who, by the help of the tumults "raised in the city of London, had driven away "the major part of the parliament, and called "themselves the parliament, who were, in truth, "much the less, and the least considerable part of "it; which would appear manifestly, if the king "would issue out a proclamation, to require all the "members who had left the parliament at West-"minster, to repair to Oxford by such a day; "where his majesty would be willing to advise with "them in matters of the greatest importance, con-"cerning the peace, and distractions of the king-"dom: and by this means he might, in many "things, serve himself by their assistance, and it "would evidently appear by the number of both "houses, whose names would be quickly known "and published, how few remained at Westminster, "who carried on the devouring war, so grievous to "the whole kingdom."

The king was at first in some apprehension, that such a conflux of persons together of the parliament, who would look to enjoy the privileges of it in their debates, might, instead of doing him service, do many things contrary to it, and exceedingly apprehended, that they would immediately enter upon some treaty of peace, which would have

no effect; yet, whilst it was in suspense, would hinder his preparation for the war; and though nobody more desired peace, yet he had no mind that a multitude should be consulted upon the conditions of it: imagining, that things of the greatest importance, as the giving up persons, and other particulars of honour, would not seem to them of moment enough to continue a war in the kingdom; which would have been true, if, as hath been said before, the governors of the parliament had not themselves been too fearful of a peace, to trust any to make politic propositions, which, upon refusal, might have done good, but being consented to had undone them, and frustrated all their designs.

The council seemed much inclined to the expedient, and many conveniences were in view; and it might be reasonably hoped, and presumed, "that "persons, who had that duty to obey his majesty's "summons, in coming thither, which would be "none but such as had already absented themselves "from Westminster, and thereby incensed those "who remained there, would [not] bring ill and "troublesome humours with them, to disturb that "service which could only preserve them: but, on "the contrary, would unite, and conspire together, "to make the king superior to his and their ene-"mies. And as to the advancing any propositions "of peace, which there could be no doubt but they "would be inclined to, nor would it be fit for his "majesty to oppose, there could be no inconveni-"ence; since their appearing in it would but draw "reproach from those at Westminster, who would "never give them any answer, or look upon them

" under any notion, but as private persons, and " deserters of the parliament, without any qualifi- " cation to treat, or to be treated with: which " would more provoke those at Oxford, and, by " degrees, stir up more animosities between them." And the king discovered more of hope than fear from such a convention; and so, with a very unanimous consent and approbation, a proclamation was issued out, containing the true grounds and motives, and mentioning the league of Scotland to invade the kingdom; which was the most universally odious and detestable; and summoned all the members of both houses of parliament, except only such who, having command in his majesty's armies in the north, and in the west, could not be dispensed with, to be absent from their charges, to attend upon his majesty in Oxford, upon a day fixed in January next.

The king was not all this while without a due sense of the dangers that threatened him in the growth and improvement of the power and strength of the enemy, and how impossible it would be for him, without some more extraordinary assistance, to resist that torrent, which, he foresaw, by the next spring, would be ready to overwhelm him, if he made not provision accordingly. When he saw therefore, that it was not in his power to compose the distractions of England, or to prevent those in Scotland, and abhorring the thought of introducing a foreign nation to subdue his own subjects, he began to think of any expedients which might allay the distempers in Ireland; that so, having one of his kingdoms in peace, he might apply the power of that, towards the procuring it in his other do-

minions. He was not ignorant, how tender an argument that business of Ireland was, and how prepared men were to pervert whatsoever he said or did in it; and therefore he resolved to proceed with that caution, that whatsoever was done in it should be by the counsel of that state, who were understood to be most skilful in those affairs.

The lords justices, and council, had sent a short petition to his majesty, which was presented to them, in the name of his catholic subjects, then in arms against him; by which they only desired, with full expressions of duty and submission to his majesty, "that he would appoint some persons to "hear what they could say for themselves; and to "present the same to his majesty." Hereupon the king authorized by his commission the lord marquis of Ormond, and some others, to receive what they were ready to offer, but without the least authority to conclude any thing with them upon it. And after the receipt of this commission, the marquis, finding that this petition was prosecuted with less ingenuity than it seemed to have been presented, was so far from being indulgent to them under that notion, that he even then advanced against them with his army, and gave them a very signal defeat; which reformed their application, and made it more submiss.

In the mean time (though in all actions and counsels, the lords justices, and council there, had yielded punctual obedience to all directions from the parliament) the affairs of that kingdom suffered exceedingly for want of provisions, money, and ammunition, out of England; which the two houses of parliament were obliged, and were, to that pur-

pose, enabled by his majesty to send. Insomuch as that board, by their letters of the fourth of April, this present year, advertised the speaker of the house of commons, "that they had been compelled, for the preservation of the army, to take "money from all who had it, and to wrest their "commodities from the poor merchants, whom "they had now, by the law of necessity, utterly "undone, and disabled from being hereafter helpful "to them, in bringing them in victuals, or other "needful commodities: and that there were few of "themselves, or others, that had not felt their "parts in the enforced rigour of their proceedings, "so as, what with such hard dealing, no less "grievous to them to do, than it was heavy to "others to suffer, and by their descending, against "their hearts, far below the honour and dignity of "that power they represented under his royal "majesty, they had, with unspeakable difficulties, "prevailed so as to be able to find bread for the "soldiers for the space of one month: that they "were then expelling thence all strangers, and "must instantly send away for England thousands "of poor despoiled English, whose very eating was "now insupportable to that place; and therefore, "they said, they did again earnestly and finally "desire (for their confusions would not now admit "the writing of many more letters, if any) some "supplies of victual and munition might, in pre-"sent, be hastened thither to keep life, until the "rest might follow; there being no victuals in "store; nor one hundred barrels of powder; "which, according to the usual necessary expenses,

" besides extraordinary accidents, would not last " above a month."

A copy of this letter they likewise sent to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, that his majesty might be informed of the sadness of their condition, and, with it, a copy of a paper that morning presented to the board (which was likewise sent in their letter to the speaker) from the officers of the army; who, after sharp expressions of the miseries they sustained, and expostulations thereupon, concluded, " that if their lordships would take them into their " timely considerations, before their urgent wants " made them desperate, they would serve them " readily and faithfully; but if their lordships would " not find a way for their preservations there, they " humbly desired they might have leave to go " where they might have a better being; and if " they refused to grant that, they themselves must " then take leave to have recourse to that first and " primary law, which God had endued all men " with, the law of nature, which taught all men to " preserve themselves."

The king was exceedingly perplexed at the receipt of this advertisement; apprehending the state of his protestant subjects in that kingdom to be almost desperate, the rebels receiving daily encouragement and assistance from foreign parts; and thereupon growing strong and bold; yet he forbore to interpose his own sovereign power, hoping this last clear representation would have made so deep an impression in the two houses of parliament, that they would have sent such a full supply, that at least the rebels might make no farther progress in

victory, against his protestant subjects. About the end of May, the lords justices and council, having received no probable hope of assistance from the parliament, sent an address immediately to his majesty, that himself might conclude, in that exigent, what was to be done for preservation of one of his three kingdoms. This letter, subscribed by the lords justices, and every member of the council-board, being the ground and foundation of the resolutions which his majesty afterwards took, I think necessary in this place to insert in the terms of which it consisted; which were these:

"May it please your most excellent majesty:

"As soon as we your majesty's justices entered "into the charge of this government, we took into "our considerations, at the board, the state of your "army here; which we find suffering under un- "speakable extremity of want of all things neces- "sary to the support of their persons, or mainten- "ance of the war, here being no victuals, clothes, "or other provisions requisite towards their sus- "tenance; no money to provide them of any thing "they want; no arms in your majesty's stores to "supply their many defective arms; not above forty "barrels of powder in your stores; no strength of "serviceable horses being now left here; and "those few that are, their arms for the most part "lost, or unserviceable; no ships arrived here to "guard the coast, and consequently no security "rendered to any that might, on their private ad- "ventures, bring in provisions of victuals, or other "necessaries towards our subsistence; and, finally, "no visible means, by sea or land, of being able to

" preserve for you this kingdom, and to render " deliverance from utter destruction to the remnant " of your good subjects left here.

" We find, that your majesty's late justices, and " this board, have often, and fully, by very many " letters, advertised the parliament in England of " the extremities of affairs here, and besought relief " with all possible importunity; which also have " been fully represented to your majesty, and to " the lord lieutenant, and Mr. Secretary Nicholas, " to be made known to your majesty: and although " the winds have of late for many days, and often " formerly, stood very fair for accessions of supply " forth of England hither, and that we have still, " with longing expectations, hoped to find provi- " sions arrive here, in some degree answerable to " the necessities of your affairs; yet now, to our " unspeakable grief, after full six months waiting, " and much longer patience, and long suffering, we " find all our great expectations answered in a mean " and inconsiderable quantity of provisions, viz. " threescore and fifteen barrels of butter, and four- " teen ton of cheese; being but the fourth part of a " small vessel's lading, which was sent from Lon- " don, and arrived here the fifth day of this month, " which is not above seven or eight days' provision, " for that part of the army which lies in Dublin, " and the out-garrisons thereof; no money or vic- " tual (other than that inconsiderable proportion of " victual) having arrived in this place, as sent from " the parliament of England, or from any other " fort of England, for the use of the army, since " the beginning of November last.

" We have, by the blessing of God, been hitherto

" prosperous and successful in your majesty's affairs " here, and should be still hopeful, by the mercy of " God, under the royal directions of your sacred " majesty, to vindicate your majesty's honour, to " recover your rights here, and take due vengeance " on those traitors, for the innocent blood they " have spilled, if we might be strengthened, and " supported therein, by needful supplies forth of " England; but these supplies having been hitherto " expected to come from the parliament of England, " (on which if your majesty had not relied, we are " assured you would, in your high wisdom, have " found out some other means to preserve this your " kingdom,) and so great and apparent a failure " having happened therein, and all the former, and " late, long continuing easterly winds, bringing us " no other provisions than those few cheeses and " butter, and no advertisements being brought us " of any future supply to be so much as in the way " hither, whereby there might be any likelihood " that considerable means of support for your ma- " jesty's army might arrive here, in any reasonable " time, before we be totally swallowed up by the " rebels, and your kingdom by them wrested from " you: we find ourselves so disappointed of our " hopes from the parliament, as must needs trench " to the utter loss of the kingdom, if your majesty, " in your high wisdom, ordain not some present " means of preservation for us. And considering " that if now, by occasion of that unhappy and un- " expected failing of support from thence, we shall " be less successful in your services here against " the rebels, than hitherto, whilst we were enabled " with some means to serve you, we have been, the

"shame and dishonour may, in common construc-
" tion of those that know not the inwards of the
" cause, be imputed to us, and not to the failings
" that disabled us: and considering principally,
" and above all things, the high and eminent trust
" of your affairs here, deposited with us by your
" sacred majesty, we may not forbear, in discharge
" of our duty, thus freely and plainly to declare
" our humble apprehensions, to the end your ma-
" jesty, thus truly understanding the terribleness of
" our condition, may find out some such means of
" support, to preserve to your majesty and your
" royal posterity this your ancient and rightful
" crown and kingdom; and derive deliverance and
" safety to the remnant of your good subjects yet
" left here, as in your excellent judgment you shall
" find to be most for your honour and advantage.
" And so praying the King of kings to guide and
" direct you for the best, in this high and important
" cause, and in all other your counsels and actions,
" we humbly remain:

From your majesty's castle of Dublin,
the 11th of May, 1643.

There was no sober man in Ireland or England, who believed it to be in the king's power to enable this people to carry on the war; for all men too well knew, that he had neither money, victual, ammunition, or shipping, to supply them: and therefore his majesty could not but conclude, that, by this application of that state to him, they hoped he would endeavour to extinguish that war which he could not maintain. And it is very true, that,

at the same time with this letter, he received advice and information, from some of his prime ministers of that kingdom, who were well known, and acknowledged, perfectly to abhor the rebellion, "that "there was no reasonable hope of preserving his "protestant subjects, and his own interest in that "kingdom, but by treating with the rebels, and "making a peace, or truce, with them." The king well foresaw to what reproaches he should object himself, by entering into any treaty with those rebels; and that they who had persuaded many to believe, that he had given countenance to, if not fomented, the rebellion, against all human evidence that can be imagined, would more easily gain credit, when they should be able to say, that he had made a peace with them: besides that he had bound himself not to make a peace with the rebels in Ireland, without the consent of his two houses of parliament in England. On the other side, nothing was more demonstrable, than that his protestant subjects there could not defend the little they had left, without extraordinary aid and assistance out of England; that it was impossible for him to send any to them, and as visible, that the parliament would not, or could not; so that it seemed only in his election, whether he would preserve the remainder of his protestant subjects there, and that whole kingdom, in dependence upon his crown, with the inconvenience of some perverse and unreasonable scandal; or suffer them to be rooted out; and undergo the perpetual obloquy of having lost a kingdom, when it was in his own power to have retained it within his subjection: and whatever he had obliged himself to, in those acts of parliament which

he had passed for relief of Ireland, before any rebellion in England, was not, that there might never be a peace in Ireland, but that the two houses might cooperate with him, whereby the rebels might be reduced to those straits, that they might be compelled to submit to the performance of their duties: and that, instead of any such cooperation, the two houses refused to concur with him in any thing, and had employed those monies, which had been raised by those very acts, for the relief of Ireland, in the maintenance of the armies which had given his majesty battle in England, expressly contrary to the words of those acts; and therefore that his majesty might be reasonably disengaged from those covenants on his part.

Upon these considerations, after two months' delay, to see whether yet the parliament would take care of them, and having received fresh importunities, and advices from thence, about the end of July, the king writ to the lords justices in Ireland, "that "they should issue out a commission, under the "great seal of Ireland, to the marquis of Ormond, "to treat and conclude a cessation of arms with the "rebels, upon such articles and conditions as he "should judge most reasonable; and during that "cessation, that such agents as they should make "choice of, should have access to his royal person, "to present their own propositions for peace:" so careful was the king not to infringe that act of parliament, which many understood to be dissolved by themselves: there being no colourable clause in it, by which it was not in his majesty's own power to make a cessation; and the peace itself he respited in such a manner, that he might receive advice and

concurrence from the parliament, if they would not decline any farther consideration or care of that kingdom.

Hereupon the lord marquis of Ormond, being then only general of the horse there, entered upon a treaty with commissioners authorized by the council at Kilkenny; to whose jurisdiction the rebels had committed the whole government of their affairs; and articles of cessation being prepared for a year, and perused, and approved by the lords justices and council, without whose advice the marquis would not proceed, and all the principal officers of the army having given it under their hands, being present likewise at the treaty, "that it was "most necessary for the preservation of that king-"dom, that a cessation should be made for a year, "upon those articles and conditions; and the rebels "undertaking to pay to his majesty's use, thirty "thousand and eight hundred pounds sterling, "within a short time; whereof fifteen thousand "eight hundred pounds in ready money, and the "other fifteen thousand pounds, one half in money, "and the other half in good beefs, at thirty pounds "the score;" a cessation of arms was concluded by the marquis; and published, with the articles and conditions, by the lords justices and council of Ireland, to begin on the fifteenth day of September, and to continue for the space of a whole year.

This cessation was no sooner known in England, but the two houses declared against it, with all the sharp glosses upon it to his majesty's dishonour that can be imagined; persuading the people, "that "the rebels were now brought to their last gasp, "and reduced to so terrible a famine, that, like

" cannibals, they eat one another, and must have " been destroyed immediately, and utterly rooted " out, if, by the popish counsels at court, the king " had not been persuaded to consent to this cessa- " tion." It is one of the instances of the strange, fatal misunderstanding, which possessed this time, that, notwithstanding all the caution the king used in meddling at all with the business of that kingdom from the time of the rebellion, and the clear discovery of all particular reasons, grounds, and counsels, when he found it necessary to interpose in it, the calumnies and slanders raised to his majesty's disservice and dishonour, made a more than ordinary impression upon the minds of men, and not only of vulgar-spirited people, but of those who resisted all other infusions and infection. And posterity, no question, will inquire, from what rise or spring this disadvantage flowed; to which inquiry I can apply no other satisfaction, besides the disease of the time; which imputed all designs to designs upon religion, and whatsoever was done by papists, to the zeal of the queen on the behalf of her own religion; then that the chief managers, and conductors of their counsels, found it necessary to aver many things of fact upon their own knowledge, (by which they found the understanding of men liable to be captivated,) which in truth were not so: as I found by some sober men, at such times as there was occasion of intercourse, and conference with them that they did, upon such assurance, believe that the king had done somewhat in that business of Ireland, (some having avowed, that they had seen his hand to such and such letters and instructions,) which, upon as much know-

ledge as any man can morally have of a negative, I am sure he never did.

I shall here insert, as the most natural and proper evidence of the state of Ireland, at the time of the cessation, and of the unanswerable motives which prevailed with the king to consent to it, two letters; the one, of expostulation from the two houses to the lords justices and council, which was received by them after the cessation agreed on, though seeming to be sent before; and the answer of that board thereunto; with the contents whereof, the king, nor any of his council attending on him, was not at all acquainted, till long after their delivery. The letters were in these words.

To our very good lords, the lords justices, and council, for the kingdom of Ireland.

" Our very good lords,

" The lords and commons in parliament have " commanded us to let you know, they have seen " your letter of the tenth of June, directed to the " speaker of the house of commons, accompanied " with an act of state, in the preamble whereof is " an expression to this effect; that your present " difficulties are occasioned through the failure of " the houses of parliament in England, who under- " took the charge of this war. This letter, and act " of council, were sent by his majesty from Oxford; " to whom they believe you have sent copies of " both, and have just cause to suspect, that there is " an impious design now on foot, to sell for nought " the crying blood of many hundred thousands of " British protestants, by a dishonourable, unsuffer-

" able peace with the rebels; and then to lay the " blame and shame of this upon the parliament; a " plot suitable to those counsels that have both pro- " jected and fomented this unparalleled rebellion: " for those who contrived the powder treason, in- " tended to lay it on the puritans. And although " they cannot think your lordships intended to fur- " ther this design by this expression, yet they have " cause to believe, you have forgotten the present " condition of this kingdom; the supplies they have " sent thither of all sorts, even in the midst of their " own wants: what relief going thither hath been " taken away by sea and land, and by whom; and " what discouragements have been given them in " return: so that, as your lordships do truly observe " the protestant party in that city desirous to con- " tribute, in all things, towards preservation of that " kingdom, and that all the opposition therein is " from those of the popish party; so ought you " justly to conclude, that the protestant party in " this kingdom have contributed, and are still en- " deavouring to contribute, monies, ammunition, " victuals, and other necessaries, for the saving of " that kingdom: and that the popish and malig- " nant party here, now in arms against the parlia- " ment and kingdom, have not assisted, in the least " measure, this pious work; but, on the contrary, " do hinder and oppose the same: neither should " your lordships conceive, that only the charge of " that war was referred to, and undertaken by, the " parliament, as if their part was to be your " bankers, only to provide money for you to spend, " and were not to advise and direct the managing " of the war; although an act of parliament hath

" invested them with that power; which they must " assume and vindicate as the means to save that " kingdom; and shall bring to condign punish- " ment those there, who, in this conjuncture of " affairs, have advised the commission to hear what " the rebels can say, or propound, for their own " advantage; the letters to divest their committee " of an authority given them by both houses; and " that advised the late alteration of government " there; as enemies to the weal of both kingdoms, " and fautors of that rebellion. In the last place, " we are forbidden to tell you, what supplies of " money, victuals, ammunition, and other neces- " saries, are in good forwardness to be sent over, " for the support of the officers and soldiers there, " and by whose incessant care; lest they should " seem to answer that scandal by excuse, which " deserves an high resentment. This being all " we have in command for the present, we bid " your lordships farewell, and remain,

" Your lordships' friends to serve you,

" *Grey of Warke,*

" *Speaker of the house of peers* pro tempore;

" *William Lenthall,*

" *Speaker of the commons house in parliament.*

" The lords and commons will examine the de- " meanour of the ships appointed to guard those " coasts; and might have expected a copy of " Mountrose's letter to colonel Crawford, which " came to your hands before the 10th of June; " and, happily, would discover the treasons of the " rebels, sent by your enemies to destroy you; as " well as a complaint of those sea-captains, sent by

" your friends to defend you; whose neglects and " misdeeds are notwithstanding to be punished, " according as their demerits shall appear."

Westminster, the 4th of July, 1643.

To our very good lord, the lord speaker of the right honourable the lords house of parliament, in the kingdom of England; and to our very loving friend, William Lenthall, esq. speaker of the honourable commons house in parliament, in the said kingdom.

" Our very good lord, and Mr. Speaker of the " commons house in parliament,

" Your joint letters of the fourth of July last di- " rected to us, were so long in coming, as they " came not to our hands until the sixth of October. " By those your letters, you signify, that the lords " and commons in parliament have commanded you " to let us know, that they have seen our letters of " the tenth of June, directed to the speaker of the " house of commons, accompanied with an act of " state, in the preamble whereof there is an ex- " pression to this effect; that our present difficul- " ties were occasioned through the failure of the " houses of parliament in England, who undertook " the charge of this war: to which expression, it " seems, exception is taken, and interpretations " made thereof, far otherwise we are sure than was " intended by us; and, as we conceive, otherwise " than the true sense of those words can bear. It " is true, that when we were necessitated to set " on foot the new imposition, raised here in nature " of an excise, towards keeping this army from

" perishing by famine, it became necessary to " express, in the act of council whereby we ordered " it, the reasons inducing us to set on foot here a " thing so unknown to his majesty's laws, and " gracious government, and the difficulties where- " with we contended, which did necessitate that " resolution; and in expressing those difficulties, " we used that expression, to shew whence our " difficulties were occasioned; and that we have " therein declared the truth, we crave leave to " mind you of some particulars.

" If we should look so far back as to repeat the " substance of many despatches sent from this " board, since the beginning of this rebellion; some " to our very good lord, the lord lieutenant of this " kingdom; some to the lords, and others, mem- " bers of both houses, his majesty's commissioners " for the affairs of this kingdom; and some to the " speaker of the commons house of parliament " there; it would prove a voluminous work; and " therefore we forbear to look farther back into " those despatches, than to the time when the " committee sent thence hither, were here; who, " at their arrival here, in the end of October 1642, " brought with them some money and provisions, " but far short of that which the necessities of this " army required; and indeed so inconsiderable, " in respect of those necessities, as even before " that committee departed, they saw the money " they had brought, wholly issued; and the high " and unavoidable necessity of a farther, speedy, " and plentiful supply of money, and other pro- " visions. By letters from this board of the twen- " tieth of January 1642, and directed to the

" speaker of the commons house of parliament " there, it was signified thither, that the provisions " of victuals here were then at the very bottom; " that that committee then here, had certified " thither those wants; that if a personal supply of " victual arrived not here very speedily, the army " could not subsist, but must have been constrained " to disband, to the loss of this kingdom, and " utter destruction of the few subjects here: that " the want of treasure here, to pay the army, en- " forced this board to issue victual to the common " soldier, and others, towards their pay, which did " the sooner exhaust the magazine of victual; that " the captains, and other officers, not having relief " that way, were reduced to great extremities, as " had been formerly often represented thither; " and therefore this board, by the said letters, " then moved, that treasure might be sent us " speedily, so to redeem the officers from the " calamities they suffered, and this board from their " unsupportable clamours; and to enable the pay- " ment, in some part, in money to the common " soldier; so to make the victual we then expected, " to hold out the longer.

" It was also by those letters then advertised " thither, that the extremities of the officers of the " army had begotten so much discontent amongst " them, as divers colonels, and others of them, pre- " sented at this board a remonstrance, whereof a " copy was then sent enclosed in the said letters; " which remonstrance did exceedingly trouble and " perplex us, lest it might beget such distractions " amongst us, as might give too much advantage " to the rebels. But, after full debate thereof at

" this board, it was here directed, that in present,
" to render some subsistence to the officers, until
" treasure arrived forth of England, every man in
" this city should bring in half of his plate, to be
" paid for it when treasure arrived; whereupon
" some plate was brought in, and applied towards
" the army. This board did also signify by those
" letters, that without some speedy relief forth of
" England, the burden here was become too heavy
" to be borne; and therefore, in discharge of our
" duty to God, to our gracious sovereign, to that
" kingdom, and to this, we held ourselves bound
" clearly to make known, that unless we were
" speedily supplied from thence with money, arms,
" and victual, it would be impossible for us any
" farther to prosecute this war, or to preserve from
" sudden confusion this state and government: so
" highly did the discontent of the officers, and the
" disorder of the soldiers, threaten us, that it might
" be easily apprehended, what, in all human pro-
" bability, must become of us, when it was then
" evident, that here was no money, nor any possi-
" bility of procuring any in this city; when our
" victuals were spent; when a great part of
" the army had no arms; which we doubted, and
" feared, for the reasons in those letters expressed,
" that the soldiers would make prey of us and this
" city at last; and when we saw that the destruction,
" then threatened against us, must then go farther,
" even to the loss of this crown, and kingdom; and
" to the highly endangering of that kingdom also;
" which, for the honour of his majesty, and the
" English nation, we by our said letters desired
" might, by the wisdom of that honourable house,

" be speedily prevented, by hastening away, with " all possible speed, supply of money, arms, and " victuals.

" By other letters of this board, directed to Mr. " Speaker, and dated the said 20th of January 1642, " it was advertised thither, that it was become of " absolute necessity, that there should be sent us " from thence, speedily, six hundred able light " geldings for recruits, to be defalked out of the " entertainments of those who should receive them. " By other letters from this board, of the same " date, directed to Mr. Speaker, it was signified " thither, that we had contracted an agreement " here with Theodore Schout, and Jacob Ablin, " merchants, that Anthony Tyrenes, in London, or " Daniel Wibrant, in Amsterdam, should receive " seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and " thirteen pounds three shillings; for which the " said Theodore and Jacob had undertaken, by " their agreement with us, to buy in Holland, and " to transport from thence hither, at their own " charge and adventure, several proportions of " arms mentioned in a docket, then sent enclosed " in our said letters; and they undertook so to " secure it by insurance, and provide such a ship " of force, as we might be assured to have all those " arms arrive here by the tenth of March now last " past. And we, by our said letters, earnestly " besought that the said sum of seven thousand " eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds " three shillings might, by order of that honourable " house, be speedily paid to the said Tyrenes, or " Wibrant, that those provisions might arrive here " by the tenth of March; that we might not lose

" the advantage of the then next spring, for re-
" covering of such of the seaports, and other places
" of importance, as the rebels had gotten; and for
" proceeding effectually in this war. Those letters
" also moved for other provisions of war, which we
" conceived might be had in England in reasonable
" time. And we then sent a docket of those also;
" desiring earnestly they might be sent us speedily.
" And although there was an agent sent from
" hence in November 1641, to solicit the despatches
" sent from hence, who attended at London, when
" those our letters were sent hence; yet of so great
" importance was that despatch, requiring instant
" and speedy answer and supply from thence, as
" we adjudged it necessary to give special instruc-
" tions to the lord Conway, and others, (besides
" that agent then there attending,) to move his
" majesty, and solicit the houses of parliament,
" to hasten unto us, with all possible speed, the
" provisions in those letters contained: and that
" there might nothing be omitted, that by solicita-
" tion could be obtained, there were agents also
" sent thither from the army to solicit for them.
" By letters from this board of the twentieth of
" February 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, we
" again desired, with all possible earnestness, that
" the provisions of all sorts, expressed in those
" three letters of the twentieth of January, and the
" dockets therewith sent, might be hastened to us;
" and that the said seven thousand eight hundred
" fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings, for
" arms to be provided in Holland, might be speedily
" paid. And in those last letters we again signified
" our miserable and unspeakable want of victuals,

" arms, munition, money, shoes, and other neces-
" saries; and that if the supplies we moved for
" came not speedily, we were unavoidably in
" danger to be as much devoured by our own
" wants, as by the sword of the rebels; and that
" our want of corn was so much the more, in re-
" gard that, in confidence to be plentifully supplied
" forth of England, we caused great destruction to
" be made of corn; there being indeed nothing
" conducing more to the destruction of rebels, than
" the burning of all corn.

" We also then signified the necessity of sending
" a farther supply of powder and match; and we
" declared, that no words could sufficiently express
" the greatness of the danger we should incur, if
" our supplies came not speedily: that the plate
" brought in amounted not to one thousand two
" hundred pounds; a sum very inconsiderable to-
" wards relief of the officers. By letters of this
" board of the twenty-fifth of February 1642,
" directed to Mr. Speaker, we signified, that when
" our means from thence failed, and our credits
" could hold out no longer, we were constrained,
" towards relief of the army, to force from the
" protestant merchants here, as well English as
" strangers, not only the commodities they had
" brought hither, but the native commodities also;
" undertaking to them that they should receive
" payment at London; which failing, that those
" that would supply us were disheartened, and
" durst not come hither with commodities; where-
" fore we again, by those letters, besought speedy
" supply from thence; declaring that otherwise the
" army and we must perish; and so far we were

" transported with grief, in the consideration of the " high extremities of this kingdom, and army, as " we did, by those letters, lament for the shame " and dishonour, which we then foresaw would re- " flect upon the English nation, if then, after so " long and often forewarnings, given by us to that " honourable house, this kingdom were lost, and " that for want of supplies from thence; wherein " we then declared, that all the comfort left us was, " that we had done our parts, and discharged our " duties to God, to his majesty, and to all his " kingdoms, who must have borne their parts with " us in so heavy a loss.

" By letters from this board, dated the twenty- " third of March 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, " we signified that our wants enforced us to distri- " bute the soldiers, for their victuals, in and " throughout this city and suburbs; which, we " signified, could not long hold, considering the " poverty of this place; and therefore, to avoid " utter confusion, we did again and again beseech " most earnestly, that, above all things, victuals " and munition might be sent us speedily; and " that money, arms, clothes, shoes, and other pro- " visions might also be sent; declaring, that if " they yet came speedily, the kingdom, and his " majesty's forces here, might be thereby redeemed " out of part of their distresses; and we enabled, " by the blessing of God, to give his majesty such " an account of this kingdom, as would be for the " glory of the king our master, and the honour of " the English nation, in the subduing this horrid " rebellion; which, by reason of our wants, and in " no other respect, was then grown very terrible:

" and we did again call for the provisions, moved " for by our several former letters of the twentieth " of January, and twentieth of February, and for " the payment of the seven thousand eight hundred " fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings, for " arms to be provided in Holland, and those also " which we expect from London; declaring, that " unless those supplies came, we should be disabled " from doing service on the rebels the then next " spring, or the then succeeding summer; and " must undoubtedly put the rebels into a condition " of prevailing against us, which we well believed " the kingdom of England would never have per- " mitted against so faithful servants and valiant " soldiers, as his majesty yet had here.

" By those letters also we signified, that it was " necessary that there should be here, at this har- " bour of Dublin, by the middle of April, at least " two ships of good strength; and that the ships " designed for guarding the other parts of the " coasts of this kingdom, should be hastened away " with all possible speed. By letters from this " board directed to Mr. Speaker, dated the fourth " of April 1643, we represented again the un- " speakable miseries of the officers and soldiers, " for want of all things; and all those made the " more insupportable, in the want of food; and " that this city was then apparently found to be " unable to help us, as it had formerly done; and " repeated again, in as lively terms as we could, " the high extremities fallen, and increasing upon " us; declaring, that we were enforced to see, " who had any thing yet left him not taken from " him, to help us; and that although there were

" but few such, and some poor merchants, whom " we had formerly, by the law of necessity, utterly " undone; yet, that we were forced to wrest their " commodities from them: that there were few " here, of ourselves or others, that had not felt " their parts in the enforced rigour of our proceed- " ings towards preserving the army; and we ear- " nestly desired, that his majesty, and the English " nation, might not suffer so great, if not irrecover- " able prejudice and dishonour, as must unavoid- " ably be the consequence of our not being relieved " suddenly; but that yet, although it were then " even almost at the point to be too late, supplies " of victuals, and munition, in present might be " hastened hither, to keep life, until the rest might " follow: declaring also, that there was no victual " in the store, and that there would not be an " hundred barrels of powder left, when the out- " garrisons, as they must then instantly have been, " were supplied; and that the residue of our pro- " visions must also come speedily after, or other- " wise that England could not hope to secure " Ireland, or secure themselves against Ireland; " but in the loss of it, must look for such enemies " from hence, as would perpetually disturb the " peace of his majesty, and his kingdom of Eng- " land; and among them, by sea and land, as we " had often formerly represented thither; which " mischiefs we signified might yet be prevented, if " we were but then forthwith enabled, from thence, " with means to overcome this rebellion.

" We then also again renewed our requests for " the provisions mentioned in our letters of the " twentieth of January, and for the payment of the

" seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thir-
" teen pounds three shillings, for arms to be pro-
" vided in Holland, besides those we expected from
" London: we then also sent, enclosed in our let-
" ters to Mr. Speaker, a copy of writing, signed by
" sundry officers of the army, which was in a style
" threatening much danger; whereby appeared the
" high necessity of hastening treasure hither to pay
" them, and the rest of the officers, and provide
" victual for the soldiers. On the tenth of April
" 1643, we received letters from Mr. Speaker, of
" the seventeenth of March, in answer to our let-
" ters of the twentieth and twenty-fifth of February.
" Those letters from Mr. Speaker advised free trade
" and truck to be given to merchants, by taking
" our native commodities, that cannot be manufac-
" tured here, for their corn, and other victuals, and
" carrying them into England, or other places not
" prohibited. And by our letters directed to Mr.
" Speaker, dated the twenty-second of April, in
" answer to his said letters of the seventeenth of
" March, we made it appear, that that design could
" not hold to derive benefit to this army. By
" those our letters we signified also, that the ne-
" cessities of the army still pressed us, by degrees,
" to break the merchants here, by wresting their
" commodities from them, upon promise of satis-
" faction in England: that the failing of that satis-
" faction in England, as it had undone them, so
" had it infinitely prejudiced the service here: that
" we engaged the word of this state, to procure
" payment to many others, out of the next treasure
" that shall arrive forth of England, (which courses,
" though very hard, did help us for a time;) that

" when those failed, we begun at ourselves, then at " others, then at all fraternities, and corporations, " as bakers, brewers, butchers, vintners, and the " like; then at all particular persons observed to " have any visible substance, not being able to " spare poor men, who (to gain a poor living) made " profession, some of selling hot waters, and some " of cutting tobacco: that in the end, all other " means failing, we had recourse to the only native " commodity, hides; seizing on all that could be " found, either on ship-board, ready to be exported " hence, (with purpose in some of the owners of " them to return victuals hither; which we were " not able to wait for,) or on shore; prepared for " ship-board;, and made use of them to get the " army in a few days' bread, still hoping provisions " of victual might come to keep them alive; which " did draw upon us infinite clamour.

" And by the said letters we earnestly besought, " that before we should be utterly swallowed up in " the confusion of affairs, wherewith we were beset, " the destruction of this state, and army, and king- " dom, being then no less feared to arise from the " army, though sent hither for their preservation, " than from the fury of the rebels, if that honour- " able house would not look back into all our seve- " ral letters sent thither, which we then declared " should for ever acquit us before God, and the " world; as having discharged our duties to God, " to his majesty, and to this his kingdom, in fully, " and timely, and often representing thither the " evils then ready to seize upon this state, the " army, and the kingdom, and the means of pre- " venting them; yet at last they would be pleased

" to review our said several letters of the twentieth " and twenty-fifth of February, of the twentieth of " January, twenty-third of March, and fourth of " April. We then also signified that the soldiers, " pressed through wants, attempted tumults and " mutiny, plundered divers of the inhabitants of " this city, as well English and protestants, as " others: that we apprehended those disorders but " beginnings of what, we doubted, would then " shortly ensue, even the ransack of this city, if, " by supplies forth of England, it were not pre- " vented: that then there would be no refuge left, " either for the army, or other English here: that " we were not able to send out the soldiers, for " want of money to furnish ordinary necessities, " and of ammunition: wherefore we then again " earnestly moved, that some means might be " found for complying with our desires, in those " our several letters expressed; certifying, that the " state of affairs here could not possibly admit the " least deferring; and that no help was to be ex- " pected from hence; as we had often, and fully, " in former letters, signified thither: that if it were " not immediately supplied forth of England with " powder, we should not be able to defend our- " selves, or offend the rebels; and that, above " all things, munition, money, and victuals, were, " of necessity, to be sent in the first place; and the " other provisions to be sent after, which also we " certified most needful to be done with all possible " speed.

" By our letters of the sixth of May 1643, di- " rected to Mr. Speaker, we signified how necessary " it was, that the intended establishment should be

"considered there, and put into such a way as to "be made perfect, and, receiving his majesty's "gracious approbation, might be sent hither; which "we desired to be hastened, that the officers, who "daily labour in the public services, might the "better know what they are to have; of which "establishment we have not yet had any return. "By our letters to Mr. Speaker of the 11th of May "1643, we signified, that although by letters from "Mr. Speaker, dated the 17th day of March, it "was advertised hither, that six weeks' provision of "victuals, for each province, was in preparing, yet "that it was not come, or if it was come, that it "was a supply far below that which was necessary "to be then sent hither. And we then again re-"peated the miserable condition of this army, "through want of all things, especially money, "victuals, clothes, arms, and munition: that there "were not above forty barrels of powder in the "store, (a mean and inconsiderable quantity for "this army, on whom depends the preservation of "the kingdom,) and we again desired, in case of "so high and eminent danger, and that with all "possible importunity, that a course might be "then instantly taken for hastening away powder "with all speed, and that the other provisions also "of all sorts, mentioned in our former several "letters of the 20th of January, 20th and 25th of "February, the 23rd of March, and the 4th and "22d of April, might be also hastened away; and "that the seven thousand eight hundred and four-"score and thirteen pounds three shillings, for "arms to be provided in Holland, besides those we "expected from London, might be paid.

" By those letters also we signified, that we could " not but lament our misfortune, and the dishonour " reflecting on the English nation, that the season " of the year should be so far entered into, and yet " (notwithstanding all the representations, often, " and timely enough made thither of affairs here) " no means put into our power to make use thereof, " in a vigorous prosecution of the war; but instead " thereof, notwithstanding all the endeavour and " industry here used to prevent it, we then beheld " ourselves sunk deeply into a gulph of confusion, " and distress of affairs, being equally in danger to " be devoured through our wants, or to be de- " stroyed by the rebels, for want of needful habili- " ments of war to enable our defence, as had been " formerly often and fully declared thither; and " therefore we again pressed to be redeemed from " the terribleness of our condition, by such timely " accessions of supplies forth of England, as were " contained in our said former despatches.

" By our letters to Mr. Speaker, dated the 16th " of May 1643, we desired that 320*l.* might be " paid there, as we had formerly desired, for sundry " particulars necessary for the chirurgeons of this " army; there being a great want thereof for the " cures of wounded men. And then we sent, and " employed sir Thomas Wharton, knight, a member " of this army, purposely to solicit the means of " our relief, that so we might omit nothing that " we conceived might conduce to the hastening of " our expected supplies. And by our letters of the " 16th of May, then sent to Mr. Speaker, we sig- " nified, that the kingdom was then in more " danger than ever to be forced out of our hands,

" for want of timely supplies out of England; and " we desired most earnestly, that his despatch " might be hastened for our preservation, that, if it " were possible, the king and kingdom of England " might yet then be preserved from that irrecover- " able prejudice and dishonour, which must neces- " sarily accompany and follow the loss of this " kingdom.

" And here we may not omit to mention, that " we prevailed with divers persons to advance pro- " visions to us, at several times, to answer the " crying necessities of this army; and to some we " gave our bills, in nature of bills of exchange, and " to others, our own bonds, undertaking repayment " at London by the parliament there; which we " did in confidence to find ready payment there " accordingly: and we do not yet hear that those " bills of exchange, or bonds, are yet paid there; " but we find some of the parties ready to sue and " implead us here, for those debts, though con- " tracted only for the public service.

" Which proceeding of this board, from time to " time, we thus at large deduce, that so it may " appear fully that we have discharged those duties " which we owe to his majesty, and to the trust of " his majesty's affairs here, in representing thither " fully, and timely, and often, the wants and ex- " tremities to which this kingdom and army were " reduced, and the means requisite to be sent for " relief and preservation of both; and yet in all " that time, namely, from the said twentieth day of " January 1642, to the tenth of June 1643, which " is the day of the date of our letters, to which " yours of the 4th of July is an answer, or from

" that time to this, there arrived here, as sent from " the parliament of England, towards the relief of " this army, and for maintenance of this war, but " the particulars following, viz. forty-nine thousand " two hundred forty-eight pounds of butter; forty- " nine thousand six hundred forty-nine pounds of " cheese; four hundred forty-seven barrels and a " half of wheat and rye; three hundred threescore " and seven barrels of pease; and three hundred " fifty-six barrels of oats; also five hundred suits " of clothes, one thousand cassocks, two thousand " eight hundred and eighteen caps; also eight and " twenty hundred three quarters and one pound of " match, thirty-eight hundred two quarters and " nine pound of shot, and three hundred threescore " and fourteen barrels of powder; of which pro- " visions of munition, there were three hundred " and one and forty barrels of powder, and five " hundred fifty-five pound two quarters and four " and twenty pound of match, which was the mu- " nition we had contracted for here, and in the " way, coming from Holland, was intercepted at " sea, and carried to Calais, and afterwards set " free there by the mediation of his majesty, and " the houses of parliament in England, but the " price thereof stands charged on the said houses " of parliament.

" This was not above a week's provision, or there- " abouts, of victuals, for the army in Lemster, be- " ing fifteen regiments of foot, and twenty-two " troops of horse, and four troops of dragoons, " besides train of artillery, and four hundred fire- " locks; so as certainly there was a failure in sup- " plying us, and that failure was not occasioned

" through any neglect on our parts, in not repre-
" senting thither the wants and extremities en-
" dured by this army; and the means of their
" supply is, as we conceive, very clear by those
" several despatches sent from us to Mr. Speaker.
" And seeing, that the charge of this war was re-
" ferred to, and undertaken by, the houses of par-
" liament of England, and that by those despatches
" they fully understood the condition of affairs
" here, we offer it to any man's consideration,
" whether or no we had not just cause to con-
" ceive, and accordingly to express in that act of
" council, that our difficulties, which were neces-
" sary to be mentioned in that act, were occasioned
" through the failure of the houses of parliament
" in England.

" And whereas you write, that the lords and
" commons in parliament do believe we have sent
" copies of our said letters and act of council to his
" majesty, it is true, that we have so done; and
" therein acquitted ourselves towards that duty
" which we owe him; and had failed in our duties,
" if we had done otherwise. But how from that,
" as we conceive, necessary and true expression of
" ours in the said act of council, or from our send-
" ing a copy thereof, and of our said letters, to his
" majesty, there can be any just cause to suspect
" (as your letters seem to infer) there is such
" an impious design now on foot, as your letters
" mention, we confess we do not understand, or
" any design at all other than the needful settling
" here of the imposition, in nature of an excise, in
" those our letters and act of council mentioned;
" without which this army could not have sub-

" sisted to this time; and was pressed by the com-
" mittee from the parliament here, but then avoided;
" our hopes being then more, and our necessities
" not so great as they were when we laid it. And
" as we find by your letters, that the lords and
" commons in parliament there have done us the
" right, by your said letters, to signify that they
" cannot think we intended, by that expression, to
" farther the design in your letters mentioned, so
" we hold it necessary to declare, that we neither
" have forgotten, nor can forget, the present con-
" dition of that kingdom; but we have a long time
" beheld, and still behold, and lament with bleeding
" hearts, the woful condition of that kingdom, and
" how God's hand is still stretched out against us,
" in those heavy distractions there; yet we comfort
" ourselves with hope, that God, in mercy to his
" majesty, and to all his kingdoms and people, will
" at length, in his own good time, answer the
" prayers and tears of us his majesty's servants,
" and many thousands of others his good subjects
" there, and here, continually poured out for his
" majesty, and his kingdom, in removing that
" heavy judgment, and settling peace and tranquil-
" lity there, to the glory of God, the honour of his
majesty, and the joint happiness of all his sub-
" jects, in all his kingdoms and dominions.

" Nor have we forgotten the supplies of all sorts
" sent hither by the parliament, but do very well
" remember them. But we confess we know not
" what relief coming hither hath been taken away,
" either by sea or land, or by whom, or what dis-
" couragement hath been given them in return:
" only we have heard, that the shipping, employed

" by the rebels at Wexford, did give them some " interruption at sea; and that was occasioned by " neglect of duty in those who commanded the " ships designed for the guard of the coasts of this " kingdom: and the said ship bound hither from " Holland with munition, which we had contracted " for here, was intercepted at sea, and carried to " Calais, and afterwards set free there, by the " mediation of his majesty and the houses of par- " liament in England. And we find that some " ships, sent hither it seems at first with provi- " sions from London, and other ships bound hither " with provisions on private men's adventures, " were taken away even from this harbour, a few " days before the cessation of arms here, as " they were coming in, and carried to Liverpool, " by one captain Dausk, a person employed by the " two houses of parliament there, in the command " of a ship; and that ship commanded by Dausk, " and other ships employed at Liverpool, do now, " and have a long time stayed on that side, laden " with provision of victuals, coals, and other neces- " sary relief bound from thence hither to be sold; " which, if they had arrived here, would have " brought great relief to this army, and the inha- " bitants in this city, though on the adventure of " the bringers; which we hold necessary to repre- " sent thither, to the end that their uncharitableness " towards those poor men that would adventure " hither to relieve us, and their inhumanity to- " wards this distressed army and city, and many of " his majesty's protestant subjects therein, might " appear so, as they, or others, may not presume " hereafter to offend in that kind.

"And whereas you write, that we should not "conceive that only the charge of this war was "referred to, and undertaken by, the parliament, "as if their part were to be our bankers, only to "provide monies for us to spend, and were not to "advise and direct the managing of the war; we "confess we neither did, nor do conceive the par- "liament there to be bankers for us; but did "esteem them, as those to whom the king our "master referred the charge of this war, and to "whom, as so intrusted by his majesty, this board, "from time to time, made application; and if any "advice had come from them, concerning the "managing of the war, we should have endea- "voured to have made the best use thereof, for "the furtherance of his majesty's service here. "And here we hold it necessary to declare, that "when we understood, that his majesty, at the "humble desire of the lords and commons of par- "liament in England, had, in April 1642, granted "a commission to some members of both houses, "for ordering and disposing all matters there, for "the defence, relief, and recovery of this king- "dom; and that his majesty commanded all his "officers, ministers, and subjects of his kingdoms "of England and Ireland, to be obedient, aiding, "and assisting to the said commissioners in the "due execution of the said commission; and that "by his majesty's instructions, annexed to the said "commission, his majesty gave it in charge to "those commissioners, to advertise his lieutenant "of Ireland, the council, and other governors and "commanders here, what they conceived to be "needful for the prosecution of the war in the best

" manner, for the defence of this his kingdom, and " ease of the great charges and expenses, which, " by occasion of this rebellion, lay upon his loving " subjects of his kingdom of England: we there- " fore, by our letters of the seventh of June 1642, " directed to those his majesty's commissioners, " besought, among other things, present and par- " ticular direction for the prosecution of the war; " which yet we have not received: only we had " advice from thence, to send some forces into " Connaught; which was done; and for sending " some forces into Munster, which, by our letters " of the thirteenth of September 1642, to the " commissioners there, we signified was not pos- " sible for us to do, unless we were plentifully " supplied of those things, whereof the wants then " certified thither did then disable us.

" Concerning the commission in your letters " mentioned, it was not to hear what the rebels " would say, or propound for their own advan- " tage, as your letters mention; but his majesty " having received an humble petition, in the name " of the recusants of Ireland, desiring to be heard, " his majesty thought it not unjust, or inconvenient " for him, to receive from them what they could " say unto him; to whom they insinuated that " they would yet yield due obedience. And there- " fore his majesty, by his commission under the " great seal of England, (wherein he declared his " extreme detestation of the odious rebellion, " which the recusants of Ireland have, without any " ground or colour, raised against him, his crown, " and dignity,) authorized some of his ministers

" here, to hear at large what the petitioners should " say, or propound; which his majesty, by the said " commission, directed that the petitioners, or " the principal of them, authorized by the rest, " should set down in writing under their hands; " and the commissioners to send the same to his " majesty; whereupon his majesty by the said " commission declared, he would take such farther " consideration, as should be just, honourable, and " fit for his majesty: and that that course gave " not the least interruption to the proceeding of " the war, appears by this, that on the eighteenth " of March (being in the time the commissioners, " authorized by his majesty, gave meeting to those " of the other side, upon that commission) the " lord marquis of Ormond, though one of those " commissioners, in his return from Rosse with " about two thousand five hundred foot, and five " hundred horse of his majesty's army, fought with " the army of the rebels, consisting of about six " thousand foot, and six hundred and fifty horse, " and obtained a happy and glorious victory against " them; and the rebels' army being defeated, and " wholly routed, and their baggage and munition " seized on, his majesty's forces lodged that night " where they had gained the victory, as by former " letters of this board, of the fourth of April 1643, " directed to Mr. Speaker, we formerly signified " thither: which we thus repeat, to manifest that " that commission, or the meeting thereupon, gave " not any manner of interruption to the proceeding " of the war.

" Concerning the letters you mention, to divest

" the committee of both houses there of an au-
" thority given them by both houses, we remember
" that his majesty, by his letters of the third of
" February 1642, understanding that the then
" justices and council had admitted, without his
" order or knowledge, to sit in council with them
" in this his kingdom, Mr. Robert Goodwin and
" Mr. Reynolds, and that thereby they were be-
" come so bold, as to take upon them to hear, and
" debate of matters treated of in council, his ma-
" jesty, by his said letters, signified by his express
" command, that they should not be permitted to
" sit, or be present any more at his majesty's
" council-table here; but if they had any business,
" his majesty willed, that they should attend as
" others of their quality: which his majesty's plea-
" sure was humbly obeyed by his said justices and
" council, with that duty and submission, which
" was due from them to his royal commands. And
" as his majesty, by his said letters, required, that,
" if those persons had any business, they should
" attend, as others of their quality; so, if they had
" afterwards offered any business at this board,
" they should have been heard therein; which was
" also signified to them before their departure
" hence. And now, upon this occasion, we having
" perused the copies they delivered at this board,
" of the order of both houses dated the sixth of
" October 1642, and of their instructions, do find
" indeed, that, by the said order, the said Robert
" Reynolds, and Robert Goodwin, were to have the
" credence, power, and esteem of a committee sent
" hither by the advice and authority of both houses
" of parliament; and that, by the said instructions,

" they were to be admitted to be present, and vote " at all consultations concerning the war; yet there " is nothing in the said order, or instructions, for " admitting them to sit, or be present at his ma- " jesty's council-table; which is that which his " majesty, by his said letters, required, should not " be permitted; which cannot be conceived to be " a divesting them of any authority given them by " both houses.

" And as to the late alteration of government " here, expressed in your letters, although his ma- " jesty in his high wisdom adjudged it fit to alter " one of those governors, which he had placed " here, which was no more than he and his royal " predecessors had usually done in all ages, as " often as they thought fit, yet that made no alter- " ation in the government; but it in all times " continued, and still continues, the same, though " in other persons.

" That part of your letters which declares, that " you are forbidden to tell us what supplies of " money, victual, ammunition, and other neces- " saries, were then in a good forwardness to be " sent hither for the support of the officers and " soldiers here, requires no answer on our parts, " other than this truth, that they are not yet " arrived here. Concerning Mountrose's letters to " colonel Crawford, we know of no treason to be dis- " covered thereby; but for the sea-captains in your " letters mentioned, it is certain that their neg- " lects and misdeeds deserve punishment, which " we desire they may find rather to their cor- " rection, than to their ruin.

" Thus we have given answer to those parts of

" your letters, which, we conceived, concerned us; " whereby, we hope, both houses of parliament " there will now remain satisfied, as in the neces- " sity and justice of our actions, so in the truth and " candour of our intentions, in those particulars to " which your said letters seem to take exception. " And so we remain,

From his majesty's castle of Dublin, 28th of Oct. 1643.

" Your lordships' very loving friends,

Jo. Borlase.	*Hen. Tichborne.*	*Rich. Bolton, Canc.*
La. Dublin.	*Ormond.*	*Roscommon.*
Ant. Midensis.	*Ed. Brabazon.*	*Char. Lambert.*
Geo. Shurley.	*Ger. Lowther.*	*Tho. Rotherham.*
Fr. Willoughby.	*Tho. Lucas.*	*Ja. Ware.*
	G. Wentworth.	

The distractions in Ireland being, by this means, in some degree allayed, and both parties having time to breathe, the king, in the next place, considered how he might apply that cessation to the advancement of his affairs in England. One of the principal motives that induced that cessation, was the miserable state of the army there, ready, through extreme wants, to disband; so that there being now less use of them there, and an impossibility to keep them, his majesty had it only in his election, whether he should suffer them there to disband, and dispose of themselves as they thought fit, which could not be without infinite disorder, and might probably prove as much to his particular disservice; or whether he should draw over such a number as might be safely spared, to his own assistance in England; to which he was

assured, that the devotion and affection of most of the principal or considerable officers there cheerfully inclined; and of this latter he made little scruple to make choice, when he was not only informed of the preparations and readiness in Scotland to invade this kingdom; but that they had called over their old general, the earl of Leven, who commanded the Scotch forces in Ireland, and many other officers and soldiers out of that kingdom, to form and conduct their army into this; and that there were also arts and industry used, by some agents for the parliament, to persuade the English officers likewise to bring over their men for their service.

So that [the king] directed the marquis of Ormond, to make choice of such regiments and troops as were necessary for the defence of the several garrisons, or as could be provided for, and supported in that kingdom, and that the rest should be sent for England. To which purpose, shipping was sent; with direction, that those from and about Dublin should be shipped for Chester, to be joined to those forces under the command of the lord Capel; whereby he might be able to resist the growing power of sir William Bruerton; who, by an addition of forces from London, and with the assistance of sir Thomas Middleton, and sir John Gell, was grown very strong; being backed by Lancashire, which upon the matter was wholly reduced to the obedience of the parliament: and that the other forces out of Munster should be landed at Bristol, to be disposed by the lord Hopton; who was forming a new army, to oppose sir William Waller; who threatened an inroad into the west;

or rather to seek him out by visiting Hampshire and Sussex, if the other were not ready to advance.

The court [at Oxford] was much increased by the queen's presence, and the necessities were increased with the expense. All correspondence was absolutely broken with London, insomuch as a sworn messenger of the chamber, sent to London with a writ, and proclamation for the adjournment of the term to Oxford, was apprehended as a spy, (as hath been said before,) and executed by martial law; and the two houses caused a great seal to be made with the king's image and inscription, and put the same into the hands of commissioners; and so the courts were continued in Westminster-hall, for the despatch of justice, (as they called it,) as had been formerly, notwithstanding the king's proclamation. The money, which the particular persons of all conditions had been very plentifully supplied with in the beginning of the war, now near spent, and the stopping the intercourse with London, had shut the door against farther supply; so that all men were weary of the condition they were in, and expressed it, as weary men used to do, in murmurs and complaints. And now all the hope was in the convention of the members of parliament; which, being a new thing, suspended the present indisposition, and administered some expectation, what they, who came from all quarters of the kingdom, would do.

According to the king's proclamation, the members of both houses of parliament, who had withdrawn out of conscience and duty from those at Westminster, appeared at Oxford at the day ap-

pointed; (except such as could not reasonably be absent from their commands in the counties, where the armies were;) who were graciously and solemnly welcomed by his majesty, with that ceremony which is used at the opening of a parliament; when his majesty told them:

"That he had called them to be witnesses of his "actions, and privy to his intentions; and that he "desired to receive any advice from them, which "they thought would be suitable to the miserable "and distracted condition of the kingdom; in pre-"senting whereof, they should use all that parlia-"mentary freedom which would be due to them if "they were with him at Westminster, and which, "with all their other privileges, they should enjoy "at Oxford, though they could not in the other "place;" with many expressions of grace towards them, and confidence in them. As soon as they had withdrawn to those places which were assigned to their counsels, both lords and commons entered upon the deliberation of all possible expedients, in order to peace; most men believing, according to the reason and conscience of their own hearts, that the difficulty was greater, to dispose those at London to the honesty and confidence of a treaty, than, in that treaty, to agree on such conclusions which might be satisfactory to all parties; judging it impossible, that men could desire to bring ruin and desolation upon their country, if they were once persuaded that it might be prevented with their own preservation. But how to advance to any formality, which probably might produce a disposition to intercourse, appeared very hard. When they thought of advising the king to send a gracious

message and overture to the two houses, they presently remembered and considered what his majesty had already done that way, and how ill returns of reverence and duty he had received from them: that to the two last messages he had sent (it being not possible now to send any more gracious and obliging) they had never returned answer, and that they still detained his last messenger in strict durance, after having exposed him to a trial for his life at a court of war: that they had prohibited any kind of address to be made to them from his majesty, except through the hands of the earl of Essex their general. From thence they entered upon the disquisition, how they might engage his lordship to the same thoughts and desires with them; to the which they easily believed, experience, observation, and interest, would engage him. They persuaded themselves, that the principal ground which had hitherto frustrated all overtures from his majesty towards peace, was the conscience [those at Westminster had] of their own guilt, and the jealousy that proceeded from thence, that no peace could secure them, whilst there was power left in his majesty; but that they could not possibly suspect the performance and exact observation of any agreement, which should be concluded upon the intercession of all the king's party; which must be security for the accomplishment of it. And from the reasonableness of this assertion, they entertained an assurance, that the earl of Essex would as greedily embrace the opportunity, and concur with them in promoting the overture; which was all they desired: for that would remove those forms, which, as so many rocks, were in the way. Hereupon the

lords and commons, the members of both houses, resolved to write a letter to the earl of Essex, in their own names, which, with the king's consent, was by trumpet sent to him, within four days after their meeting. The letter was in these very terms.

"My lord,

"His majesty having, by his proclamation of the "twenty-second of December, (upon the occasion "of the invasion threatened, and in part begun, by "some of his subjects of Scotland,) summoned all "the members of both houses of parliament, to "attend him here at Oxford, we whose names are "underwritten are here met and assembled, in obe- "dience to those his majesty's commands. His "majesty was pleased to invite us, in the said "proclamation, by these gracious expressions, that "his subjects should see, how willing he was to "receive advice, for the preservation of the religion, "laws, and safety of the kingdom, and, as far as in "him lay, to restore it to its former peace and se- "curity (his chief and only end) from those whom "they had trusted; though he could not receive it "in the place where he appointed. This most gra- "cious invitation hath not only been made good "unto us, but seconded and heightened by such "unquestionable demonstrations of the deep and "princely sense, which possesses his royal heart, of "the miseries and calamities of his poor subjects in "this unnatural war, and of his most entire and "passionate affections to redeem them from that "sad and deplorable condition, by all ways pos- "sible, consistent either with his honour, or with "the future safety of the kingdom, that as it were

" impiety to question the sincerity of them, so were " it great want of duty and faithfulness in us, (his " majesty having vouchsafed to declare, that he " did call us to be witnesses of his actions, and " privy to his intentions,) should we not testify, " and witness to all the world, the assurance we " have of the piety and sincerity of both. We " being most entirely satisfied of this truth, we " cannot but confess, that amidst our highest " afflictions, in the deep and piercing sense of " the present miseries and desolations of our " country, and those farther dangers threatened " from Scotland, we are at length erected to some " cheerful and comfortable thoughts, that possibly " we may yet (by God's mercy, if his justice have " not determined this nation, for its sins, to total " ruin and desolation) hope to be happy instru- " ments of our country's redemption, from the " miseries of war, and restitution to the blessing " of peace.

" And we being desirous to believe your lordship, " however engaged, a person likely to be sensibly " touched with these considerations, have thought " fit to invite you to that part in this blessed work, " which is only capable to repair all our misfor- " tunes, and to buoy up the kingdom from ruin; " that is, by conjuring you by all the obligations " that have power upon honour, conscience, or " public piety, that laying to heart, as we do, the " inward bleeding condition of your country, and " the outward more menacing destruction by a " foreign nation, upon the very point of invading " it, you will cooperate with us to its preservation, " by truly representing to, and faithfully and in-

" dustriously promoting with, those by whom you " are trusted, this following most sincere and most " earnest desire of ours; that they joining with us " in a right sense of the past, present, and more " threatening calamities of this deplorable king- " dom, some persons be appointed on either part, " and a place agreed on, to treat of such a peace, " as may yet redeem it from the brink of desolation.

" This address we should not have made, but " that his majesty's summons, by which we are " met, most graciously proclaiming pardon to all " without exception, is evidence enough, that his " mercy and clemency can transcend all former " provocations; and that he hath not only made us " witnesses of his princely intentions, but honoured " us also with the name of being security for them. " God Almighty direct your lordship, and those to " whom you shall present these our most real " desires, in such a course as may produce that " happy peace, and settlement of the present dis- " tractions; which is so heartily desired, and " prayed for, by us, and which may make us,

" Your &c."

From Oxford 29th of Jan. 1643.

This letter was subscribed by his highness the prince, the duke of York, and three and forty dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons of the house of peers, and one hundred and eighteen members of the house of commons; there being such expedition used in the despatch, that it was not thought fit to be deferred for a greater subscription: albeit it was known that many lords and commoners were upon the way, who came within

few days; and there were, at that time, near twenty peers absent with his majesty's leave, and employed in his affairs and armies, in the kingdom; and ten at the same time in the parts beyond the seas. So that the numbers at London were very thin; for there were not above two and twenty peers, who either sat in the parliament, or were engaged in their party; that is to say, the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Essex, Kent, Lincoln, Rutland, Salisbury, Suffolk, Warwick, Manchester, Mulgrave, Denbigh, Stamford, Bullingbrook; the lords Say, Dacres, Wharton, Grey of Warke, Willoughby of Parham, Howard of Escrick, Rochfort, and Robarts; who were present, or had proxies there.

The trumpeter found the earl of Essex at his house in London; where he was detained three or four days; during which time, the committee of both houses, that committee which they called the committee of safety for the two kingdoms, (the Scottish commissioners being a part of it,) resorted to him for his advice: and in the end, [the trumpeter] returned with this short letter to the earl of Forth, the king's general.

"My lord,

"I received this day a letter, of the twenty-ninth "of this instant, from your lordship, and a parch- "ment subscribed by the prince, duke of York, and "divers other lords and gentlemen; but it neither "having address to the two houses of parliament, "nor therein, there being any acknowledgment of "them, I could not communicate it to them. My "lord, the maintenance of the parliament of Eng-

" land, and of the privileges thereof, is that for " which we are all resolved to spend our blood; as " being the foundation whereupon all our laws and " liberties are built. I send your lordship herewith " a national covenant, solemnly entered into by both " the kingdoms of England and Scotland; and a " declaration passed by them both together, with " another declaration of the kingdom of Scotland. " I rest

" Your lordship's &c."

What the covenant was, being the same particularly set down before, I need not mention; and the declarations are as public, and would be thought too large to be in this place inserted, to the interruption of the thread of this discourse; yet it cannot be amiss to make a short extract of some particular heads or conclusions of them; that the world may see what kind of reasoning this time had introduced, and that they were as bold with God as with the king.

That declaration of the kingdom of Scotland alone, was, to justify their present expedition into England; in which they said, " It was most neces- " sary, that every one, against all doubting, should " be persuaded in his mind of the lawfulness of his " undertaking, and of the goodness of the cause " maintained by him; which they said was no " other, than the good of religion in England, and " the deliverance of their brethren out of the depths " of affliction; the preservation of their own reli- " gion, and of themselves from the extremity of " misery, and the safety of their native king, and " his kingdoms, from destruction and desolation.

" Any one of which, (they said,) by all law divine " and human, was too just cause of taking of arms; " how much more, when all of them were joined in " one? And therefore, they wished any man, who " did withdraw, and hide himself in such a debate " and controversy, to consider, whether he were " not a hater of his brethren, against Christian and " common charity; an hater of himself and his " posterity, against the law and light of nature; " an hater of the king, and his kingdoms, against " loyalty, and common duty; and a hater of God, " against all religion, and peace."

They said, " the question was not, nor need they " dispute, whether they might propagate their reli- " gion by arms; but whether, according to their " power, they ought to assist their brethren in " England, who were calling for their help, and " were shedding their blood in defence of that " power, without which religion could neither be " defended nor reformed; nor unity of religion with " them, and other reformed kirks, be attained. So " that, they said, the question was no sooner " rightly stated, but it was as soon resolved; and " concluded, *that the Lord would save them from* " *the curse of Meroz, who came not to help the Lord* " *against the mighty*. They said, the question could " not be, as their enemies would make it, whether " they should enter into England, and lift arms " against their own king, who had promised and " done as much, as might secure them in their own " religion, and liberties: but whether against the " popish, prelatical, and malignant party, their ad- " herents prevailing in England and Ireland, they " were not bound to provide for their own pre-

" servation. That they might well have known, " from their continual experience, ever since the " time of their first reformation, especially after the " two kingdoms were united under one head and " monarch, and from the principles of their own " declarations, in the time of their late troubles and " dangers, that they could not long, like Goshen, " enjoy their light, if darkness should cover the " face of other reformed kirks: that Judah could " not long continue in liberty, if Israel were led " away in captivity; and that the condition of the " one kirk and kingdom, whether in religion or " peace, must be common to both.

" They said, the question was not, whether they " should presume to be arbitrators in the matter, " now debated by fire and sword, betwixt his ma- " jesty and the houses of parliament; which might " seem to be foreign and extrinsical to that nation, " and wherein they might be conceived to have no " interest; but whether, their mediation and inter- " cession being rejected by the one side, upon hope " of victory, or suppose by both sides, upon confi- " dence of their own strength and several successes, " it were not their duty, it being in their power, to " stop or prevent the effusion of Christian blood; or " whether they ought not to endeavour to rescue " their native king, his crown, and posterity, out of " the midst of so many dangers, and to preserve " his people and kingdom from ruin and destruc- " tion. If every private man were bound in duty " to interpose himself as a reconciler and seques- " trator between his neighbours, armed to their " mutual destruction; if the son ought to hazard " his own life for the preservation of his father and

" brother, at variance one against the other, should " a kingdom sit still, and suffer their king and " neighbouring kingdom to perish in an unnatural " war? In the time of animosity, and appetite of " revenge, such an interposing might be an irrita- " tion; but afterwards, when the eyes of the mind, " no more blood-run with passion, did discern " things right, it would be no grief or offence of " heart, but matter of thanksgiving to God, and to " the instruments which had kept from shedding " blood, and from revenge."

With this kind of divinity, and this kind of logic, to shew that they had a clear prospect of whatsoever could be said against them, they resolved to invade their neighbour nation, and to interpose themselves as reconcilers, by joining against their native and natural king, with his rebellious subjects, in all the acts of animosity and blood, which have been ever practised in the most raging and furious civil war.

The other declaration, mentioned in the earl's letter, was a declaration passed, and published in the name of both kingdoms, England and Scotland, after their marriage by their new league and covenant, and about the very time that this overture for peace came from Oxford. They were now both equally inspired with the Scottish dialect and spirit; talked, " how clearly the light of the gospel shined " amongst them; that they placed not their confi- " dence in their own counsels and strength; but " their confidence was in God Almighty, the Lord " of Hosts, who would not leave nor forsake his " people. It was his own truth and cause, which " they maintained against the heresy, superstition,

" and tyranny of Antichrist: the glory of his name, " the exaltation of the kingdom of his Son, and the " preservation of his church, was their aim, and the " end which they had before their eyes. It was " his covenant, which they had solemnly in both " nations sworn, and subscribed; which he would " not have put in their hearts to do, if he had been " minded to destroy them. Upon these and the " like grounds and considerations, being confident " that this war, wherein both nations were so firmly " united, and deeply engaged, was of God, they " resolve with courage and constancy to the end to " do their part; and the Lord, who had stirred up " their spirits, displayed his banner before them, " and given the alarum, do that which seemeth him " good."

They gave now " public warning to all men to " rest no longer upon their neutrality, or to please " themselves with the naughty and slothful pretext " of indifferency; but that they address themselves " speedily to take the covenant, and join, with all " their power, in the defence of this cause against " the common enemy; and by their zeal, and for- " wardness hereafter, to make up what had been " wanting through their lukewarmness; this they " would find to be their greatest wisdom and safety; " otherwise they did declare them to be public " enemies to their religion and country; and that " they were to be censured and punished, as pro- " fessed adversaries, and malignants."

Then they proclaimed " a pardon to all those " who would before such a day desert the king, and " adhere to them, and take the covenant;" and concluded, " that they made not that declaration

"from any presumption, or vain glorying in the "strength of their armies and forces, but from the "sense of their duty, which was required and ex- "pected from the high places, and public relations, "wherein they stood; and from the assurance they "had of the assistance of God, by whose provi- "dence, the trust and safety of those kingdoms "was put into their hands at this time; having, "after long and grave consultation, resolved and "decreed never to lay down arms, till truth and "peace, by the blessing of God, be settled in this "island, upon a firm foundation for the present and "future generations; which, they said, should be "esteemed of them an abundant reward of all that "they could do, or suffer in that cause."

These were the declarations which the earl of Essex, together with the covenant, sent, as an answer to that letter from the prince of Wales, and those lords and gentlemen; which might have been the foundation of an honest and honourable peace to all the king's dominions. And I cannot but observe, that after this time that the earl declined this opportunity of declaring himself, he never did gallant or prosperous act in the remainder of his life; but whereas before, he had throughout the course of his command, how unwarrantably soever undertaken, behaved himself with very signal courage and conduct, and at this time was adorned with the testimony of friends and enemies, of a right good general, upon the conclusion of the business of Gloucester; he never, after his taking this covenant, and writing this letter, did one brave thing; but proved unfortunate in all he went about, even to his death; of which we shall say more in its place.

And we the rather extracted these short clauses of those two declarations, that posterity may observe the divine hand of Almighty God upon the people of these miserable kingdoms; that after they had broken loose from that excellent form and practice of religion, which their ancestors and themselves had observed and enjoyed, with a greater measure of happiness, than almost any nation lived under, so long a time; and after they had cancelled and thrown off those admirable and incomparable laws of government, which was compounded of so much exact reason, that all possible mischiefs were foreseen, and provided against; they should be now captivated by a profane and presumptuous entitling themselves to God's favour, and using his holy name in that manner, that all sober Christians stand scandalized, and amazed at; and [should] be deluded by such a kind of reasoning and debate, as could only impose upon men unnurtured, and unacquainted with any knowledge or science.

There wanted not a just indignation at the return of this trumpet; and yet the answer being so much out of that popular road, of saying something plausibly to the people, it was thought fit again to make an attempt, that at least the world might see, that they did, in plain English, refuse to admit of any peace. So the earl of Forth was advised to write again to the other general, for a safe conduct for two gentlemen then named, against whom no imaginable exception could be taken, to and from Westminster, to be sent by his majesty concerning a treaty of peace. To this the earl of Essex returned answer, "that whensoever he should receive any "directions to those who had intrusted him, he

" should use his best endeavours; and when a safe " conduct should be desired for those gentlemen, " mentioned in his letter, from his majesty to the " houses of parliament, his lordship would, with " all cheerfulness, shew his willingness to farther " any way that might produce that happiness, which " all honest men prayed for; which is a true un- " derstanding between his majesty, and his faithful " and only council, the parliament."

This expression of his resolution of interposing, if he had a letter from his majesty to the houses of parliament, (together with some intimation in letters from London, which at these seasons never wanted,) persuaded many, that the earl wanted only an opportunity to possess the houses with the overture, and if it were once within the walls, there were so many well affected to peace, that the proposition would not be rejected; though no particular person, or combination of men, had the courage, of themselves, to propose it. And therefore at the same time, making all possible preparations for the field, as the scene where the differences were like to be decided, his majesty was prevailed with, though he concluded it would be rejected, to send this ensuing message, which was enclosed to the earl of Essex, to be by him managed.

" Out of our most tender and pious sense of the " sad and bleeding condition of this our kingdom, " and our unwearied desires to apply all remedies, " which, by the blessing of Almighty God, may " recover it from an utter ruin, by the advice of " the lords and commons of parliament, assembled " at Oxford, we do propound, and desire, that a " convenient number of fit persons may be ap-

" pointed, and authorized by you, to meet, with all " convenient speed, at such place as you shall " nominate, with an equal number of fit persons " whom we shall appoint, and authorize to treat " of the ways and means to settle the present dis- " tractions of this our kingdom, and to procure a " happy peace: and particularly, how all the mem- " bers of both houses may securely meet in a full " and free convention of parliament, there to treat, " consult, and agree upon such things, as may con- " duce to the maintenance and defence of the true " reformed protestant religion, with due considera- " tion to all just and reasonable ease of tender " consciences; to the settling and maintaining of " our just rights and privileges, of the rights and " privileges of parliament, the laws of the land, " the liberty and property of the subject, and all " other expedients, that may conduce to that " blessed end of a firm and lasting peace both in " church and state, and a perfect understanding " betwixt us and our people: wherein no endea- " vours or concurrence of ours shall be wanting: " and God direct your hearts in the way of peace.

" *Given at our court at Oxford, 3d March* 1643."

This message being signed by his majesty, was superscribed to the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster; which, though it was a style they could not reasonably except against, was yet no other than the lords and commons at Oxford took upon themselves, as they well might. After two or three days' debate in the houses, and with the Scottish commissioners, without whose concurrence nothing was transacted, this answer was

returned to his majesty; which put a period to all men's hopes, who imagined that there might be any disposition in those councils to any possible and honest accommodation.

"May it please your majesty:

"We the lords and commons assembled in the "parliament of England, taking into our considera- "tion a letter sent from your majesty, dated the "3d of March instant, and directed to the lords "and commons of parliament assembled at West- "minster, (which, by the contents of a letter from "the earl of Forth unto the lord general the earl "of Essex, we conceive was intended to ourselves,) "have resolved with the concurrent advice and "consent of the commissioners of the kingdom of "Scotland, to represent to your majesty, in all hu- "mility and plainness, as followeth: That as we "have used all means for a just and safe peace, so "will we never be wanting to do our utmost for "the procuring thereof; but when we consider the "expressions in that letter of your majesty's, we "have more sad and despairing thoughts of attain- "ing the same than ever, because thereby, those "persons now assembled at Oxford, who, contrary "to their duty, have deserted your parliament, are "put into an equal condition with it. And this "present parliament, convened according to the "known and fundamental laws of the kingdom, "(the continuance whereof is established by a law "consented unto by your majesty,) is in effect denied "to be a parliament; the scope and intention of "that letter being to make provision how all the "members, as is pretended, of both houses may

'securely meet in a full and free convention of 'parliament; whereof no other conclusion can be 'made, but that this present parliament is not a 'full, nor free convention; and that to make it a 'full and free convention of parliament, the pre-'sence of those is necessary, who, notwithstanding 'that they have deserted that great trust, and do 'levy war against the parliament, are pretended 'to be members of the two houses of parliament.

" And hereupon we think ourselves bound to let " your majesty know, that seeing the continuance " of this parliament is settled by a law, which (as " all other laws of your kingdom) your majesty " hath sworn to maintain, as we are sworn to our " allegiance to your majesty, (these obligations " being reciprocal) we must in duty, and accordingly " are resolved, with our lives and fortunes, to de-" fend and preserve the just rights and full power " of this parliament; and do beseech your majesty " to be assured, that your majesty's royal and " hearty concurrence with us herein will be the " most effectual and ready means of procuring a " firm and lasting peace in all your majesty's do-" minions, and of begetting a perfect understanding " between your majesty and your people: without " which, your majesty's most earnest professions, " and our most real intentions concerning the " same, must necessarily be frustrated. And in " case your majesty's three kingdoms should, by " reason thereof, remain in this sad and bleeding " condition, tending, by the continuance of this " unnatural war, to their ruin, your majesty cannot " be the least nor the last sufferer. God in his " goodness incline your royal breast, out of pity

" and compassion to those deep sufferings of your " innocent people, to put a speedy and happy issue " to these desperate evils, by the joint advice of " both your kingdoms, now happily united in this " cause by their late solemn league and covenant; " which as it will prove the surest remedy, so it is " the earnest prayer of your majesty's loyal sub- " jects, the lords and commons assembled in the " parliament of England.

" *Grey of Warke,*
" *Speaker of the house of peers in parliament*
" pro tempore:
" *William Lenthall,*
" *Speaker of the house of commons in parliament.*
" *Westminster, the 9th of Mar.* 1643."

The hope of peace, by this kind of interposition, did not in any degree make the counsels remiss for the providing of money to supply the army: upon which they had more hope than from a treaty. But the expedients for money were not easily thought upon; though there was a considerable part of the kingdom within the king's quarters, the inhabitants were frequently robbed and plundered by the incursions of the enemy, and not very well secured against the royal troops, who began to practise all the license of war. The nobility and gentry, who were not officers of the army, lived for the most part in Oxford; and all that they could draw from their estates, was but enough for their own subsistence; they durst not enter upon charging the people in general, lest they should be thought to take upon them to be a parliament; and their care was, that the common people might be preserved from burdens; and they were as careful not to

expose the king's honour, or name, to affronts and refusals; but were willing that the envy and clamour, if there should be any, should fall upon themselves.

They appointed all the members of the commons, "to bring in the names of all the gentlemen of "estate, and other persons who were reputed to "be rich, within their several precincts; and what "sum of money every body might be well able to "supply the king with, in this exigent of the public "state." And then a form of a letter was conceived, which should be sent to every one of them, for such a sum; "the letter to be subscribed by the "two speakers of the houses, to the end that the "people might know, that it was by the advice of "the members of parliament assembled there; "which was as much the advice of parliament, as "could be delivered at that time in the kingdom." When the way and method of this was approved by the lords, and his majesty likewise consented to it; they began, the better to encourage others, with themselves; and caused letters to be signed and delivered to the several members of both houses, "for such sums as they were well disposed to "furnish;" which were to that proportion as gave good encouragement to others; and the like letters to all persons of condition who were in the town. And by this means, there was a sum raised in ready money, and credit, that did supply many necessary occasions, near the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, whereof some came in every day, to enable the king to provide for the next campania; which, the spring coming on, was to be expected early; the parliament having raised vast sums of money, and being like to bring many armies into the field.

All, who were to furnish money upon these letters, had liberty to bring, or send it in plate, if that was for their convenience; the king having called the officers and workmen of his mint to Oxford, who coined such plate as was brought in; his majesty likewise made a grant of some forests, parks, and other lands, to certain persons in trust, for the securing of such money as should be borrowed, or those persons who should be bound for the payment of such money; and by this means likewise many considerable sums of money were procured, and cloth, and shoes, and shirts, were provided for the army.

The two houses at Westminster, who called themselves, and they are often called in this discourse, the parliament, had at this time by an ordinance, that is an order of both houses, laid an imposition, which they called an excise, upon wine, beer, ale, and many other commodities, to be paid in the manner very punctually and methodically set down by them, for the carrying on the war. And this was the first time that ever the name of payment of excise was heard of, or practised in England; laid on by those who pretended to be most jealous of any exaction upon the people: and this pattern being then printed, and published at London, was thought by the members at Oxford, as a good expedient to be followed by the king; and thereupon it was settled, and to be governed and regulated by commissioners, in the same method it was done at London. And in Oxford, Bristol, and other garrisons, it did yield a reasonable supply for the provision of arms and ammunition; which, for the most part, it was assigned to; both sides making

ample declarations, with bitter reproaches upon the necessity that drew on this imposition, "that "it should be continued no longer than to the end "of the war, and then laid down, and utterly "abolished;" which few wise men believed it would ever be.

The high and insolent proceedings at Westminster made no impression at Oxford towards the shaking the allegiance and courage of those, whom his majesty had called to advise him. But when they found the temper of the other so much, above belief, averse to peace, and intending utter ruin to the king, the church, and all who should continue true Englishmen and subjects, they resolved as frankly to declare their resolutions, that the people might see the issue they were at; and therefore they published a declaration of the grounds and motives which had forced them to leave the parliament at Westminster; in which they mentioned "all the indirect passages, and the acts of violence, "by which they had been driven thence; and the "obligations upon them in conscience, and law, to "adhere to his majesty; and the misery which "the other party had already brought upon the "kingdom, and the desolation which must in-"evitably follow those conclusions; and with a "greater unanimity and consent, than was ever "known in so great a council, where there were "so many persons of honour, and judges, and "others learned in the law, among whom there "was scarce one dissenting voice, they declared,

1. "That all such subjects of Scotland, as had "consented to the declaration, entitled the decla-"ration of the kingdom of Scotland concerning the

" present expedition into England, had thereby de-
" nounced war against the kingdom of England,
" and broke the act of pacification.

2. " That all his majesty's subjects of the king-
" dom of England and dominion of Wales are both
" by their allegiance, and the act of pacification,
" bound to resist and repress all those of Scotland
" as had, or should enter upon any part of his ma-
" jesty's realm and dominions, as traitors, and ene-
" mies to the state; and that whosoever should
" abet, aid, or assist the Scots in their invasion,
" should be deemed as traitors, and enemies to the
" state.

3. " That the lords and commons remaining at
" Westminster, that had given their votes, or con-
" sent, to the raising of forces under the command
" of the earl of Essex, or had been abetting, aiding,
" or assisting thereunto, had levied and raised war
" against the king, and were therein guilty of high
" treason.

4. " That those lords and commons remaining
" at Westminster, that had given their votes and
" consents for the making and using a new great
" seal, had thereby counterfeited the king's great
" seal, and therein committed high treason.

5. " That the lords and commons remaining at
" Westminster, who had given their consents to
" the present coming in of the Scots in a warlike
" manner, had therein committed high treason:
" and that in these three last crimes, they had
" broken the trust reposed in them by their coun-
" try, and ought to be proceeded against as traitors
" to the king and kingdom."

Over and above these sharp and high conclu-

sions, in a diameter contrary to all the proceedings of parliament, they entered upon a way of raising a present sum of one hundred thousand pounds for the putting his majesty's armies into an equipage to take the field early in the spring; so that the engagements seemed fuller of animosity on both sides than ever; and the king exceedingly strengthened by the lords and commons having more positively and concernedly wedded his cause, than they were before understood to have done; and in truth, in the civil counsels, nothing was left undone to give it all imaginable advancement.

It had been very happy for the king, if the winter had been spent only in those counsels which might have provided money, and facilitated the making his army ready to take the field in the spring; when he was sure to have occasion enough to use it; and to be in great distress, if it should not be then in a condition to march: but the invasion, which the Scots made in the depth of winter, and the courage the enemy took from thence, deprived his majesty even of any rest in that season. Upon the Scots' unexpected march into England in January, in a most violent frost and snow, hoping to reach Newcastle before it could be fortified, and persuading their common soldiers, that it would be delivered to them as soon as required; thither the vigilant sir Thomas Glemham had been before sent to attend their coming; and the marquis of Newcastle with his army, upon the fame of their invasion, marched thither with a resolution to fight with them before they should be able to join with the English rebels; leaving in the mean time the command of York, and the forces for the guard of

that county, to colonel John Bellasis, son to the lord Falconbridge, a person of great interest in the country, and of exemplary industry and courage. But by this means, and the remove of the marquis with his army so far north, the enemy grew to a great strength in those parts; and not only able to disquiet Yorkshire, but drawing a great body of horse and foot out of Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Lincolnshire, sat down before his majesty's garrison of Newark upon Trent, with a full confidence to take it, and so to cut off all correspondence between his majesty and the marquis of Newcastle. And sir Thomas Fairfax from Hull, in the head of a strong party, had fallen upon a quarter not far from York, commanded by colonel John Bellasis at Selby, and had totally defeated it, taken the cannon, and many officers prisoners, and amongst those the colonel himself. This was the first action for which sir Thomas Fairfax was taken notice of; who in a short time grew the supreme general under the parliament. This defeat, which was great in itself, was made much greater by the terrible apprehensions the city of York had upon it; insomuch that the marquis of Newcastle, who till then had kept the Scots at a bay, found it necessary to draw his army, and with a part of it to make haste into York, to prevent any farther mischief there; by which means the Scots were at liberty to advance as they pleased; and Fairfax improved his reputation by a speedy and unlooked for march into Cheshire.

Upon the cessation in Ireland, the king made the marquis of Ormond his lieutenant of that kingdom; and appointed him to make use of the winter season

(when the parliament ships could not attend that coast) to transport those regiments of foot as might be well spared during the cessation, and which could not be supported there, to Chester; from whence his majesty could easily draw them in the spring to Oxford; and were, in truth, the principal recruit, upon which he depended to enable him to take the field. The lord Byron then commanded Chester, and that county; and was appointed to take care for the reception and accommodation of those troops; which was a right good body of foot, and being excellent men, both officers and soldiers, carried great terror with them from the time of their landing; and quickly freed North Wales from the enemy; who at that time began to have great power there. It was towards the end of November when they landed, and being a people who had been used to little ease in Ireland, the king having given the lord Byron leave to employ them in such services as might secure that country, the season of the year made little impression on them; they were always ready, and desirous for action; and in the space of a month reduced, by assault and storm, many places of notable importance, as Howarden-castle, Beeston-castle, Crew-house, and other places of great strength; and encountering the whole body of the rebels, at Middlewich in Cheshire, broke and defeated them with great slaughter; and drove all that survived, and were at liberty, into Nantwich; the single garrison they had then left in Cheshire: and into which the whole party was retired, and which had been fortified and garrisoned from the beginning of the troubles, as the only refuge for the disaffected of that county, and the

counties adjacent. The pride of the late success, and the terror the soldiers believed their names carried with them, carried them at this most unseasonable time of the year thither; for it was about the first week in January when the lord Byron came with his army before the town, and summoned it. It cannot be denied the reducing of that place at that time would have been of unspeakable importance to the king's affairs, there being, between that and Carlisle, no one town of moment (Manchester only excepted) which declared against the king; and those two populous counties of Chester and Lancaster, if they had been united against the parliament, would have been a strong bulwark against the Scots.

These considerations, and an opinion that the town would yield as soon as summoned, brought the army first thither; and then a passionate fancy of honour, contempt of the enemy within, and of any other who could attempt their relief, engaged them to a farther attempt; and so they raised batteries, and undertook a formal siege against the town. The seventeenth day of January they made a general assault upon five several quarters of the town, somewhat before day-break, but were with equal courage opposed from within, and near three hundred men lost, and spoiled in the service; which should have prevailed with them to have quitted their design. But those repulses sharpen rather than abate the edge and appetite to danger; and the assailants, no less than the besieged, desiring an army would come for their relief, both with equal impatience longed for the same thing; the Irish (for under that name, for distinction sake, we

call that body of foot, though there was not an Irishman amongst them) supposing themselves superior to any that would encounter them in the field, and the horse being such as might as reasonably undervalue those who were to oppose them.

In this confidence, supply came too soon to the town, and confusion to the king's forces: for sir Thomas Fairfax, upon his victory at Selby, brought out of Yorkshire a good body of horse to Manchester; and, out of that place, and the neighbour places, drew near three thousand foot, with which joining with sir William Bruerton, and some other scattered forces from Staffordshire and Derby, who had been routed at Middlewich, he advanced near Nantwich, before he was looked for; the Irish being so over-confident that he would not presume to attack them, that, though they had advertisement of his motion, they still believed that his utmost design was by alarums to force them to rise from the town, and then to retire without fighting with them. This made them keep their posts too long; and when they found it necessary to draw off, a little river, which divided their forces, on a sudden thaw, so much swelled above its banks, that the lord Byron, with the greatest part of the horse, and the foot which lay on one side of the town, were severed from the rest, and compelled to march four or five miles before he could join with the other; before which time the other part, being charged by sir Thomas Fairfax on the one side, and from the town on the other, were broken; and all the chief officers forced to retire to a church called Acton church, where they were caught as in a trap,

and, the horse, by reason of the deep ways with the sudden thaw, and narrow lanes, and great hedges, not being able to relieve them, were compelled to yield themselves prisoners to those whom they so much despised two hours before. There were taken, besides all the chief and considerable officers of foot, near fifteen hundred common soldiers, and all their cannon and carriages: the lord Byron with his horse, and the rest of the foot, retiring to Chester. There cannot be given a better, or it may be another reason for this defeat, besides the providence of God, which was the effect of the other, than the extreme contempt and disdain this body had of the enemy; and the presumption in their own strength, courage, and conduct; which made them not enough think, and rely upon Him who alone disposes of the event of battles: though it must be acknowledged, most of the officers were persons of signal virtue and sobriety; and, in their own natures, of great modesty and piety; so hard it is to suppress those motions, which success, valour, and even the conscience of the cause, is apt to produce in men not overmuch inclined to presumption. To give fresh life to those counties, according to a resolution formerly taken, prince Rupert was sent general into those parts; the lord Byron being his lieutenant general; his highness having a desire to command a body apart from the king's army, upon some private differences and dislikes, which grew up in most places to the disturbance of the public affairs.

There was another result of council at Oxford, in this winter season, which deserves to be mentioned; and the rather, because all the inducements there-

unto were not generally understood, nor known to many; and therefore grew afterwards to be the more censured. When the Scots were visibly armed, and upon their march into England, which the king was the last man in believing; and when there was no way to stop or divert them, his majesty was the better inclined to hearken to some men of that nation, who had been long proposing a way to give them so much trouble at home, that they should not be at leisure to infest or trouble their neighbours; to which propositions less care had been given, out of too much confidence in persons, upon whose integrity or interest there had been too great a dependence. The earl of Mountrose, a young man of a great spirit, and of the most ancient nobility, had been one of the most principal and active covenanters in the beginning of the troubles; but soon after, upon his observation of the unwarrantable prosecution of it, he gave over that party, and his command in that army; and at the king's being in Scotland, after the pacification, had made full tender of his service to his majesty; and was so much in the jealousy and detestation of the violent party, whereof the earl of Argyle was the head, that there was no cause or room left to doubt his sincerity to the king.

Upon the beginning of the parliament at Edinburgh, and the manifestation that duke Hamilton would give no opposition to the proceedings thereof, (as hath been mentioned before,) he privately withdrew out of Scotland, and came to the king few days before the siege was raised from Glocester, and gave his majesty the first clear information of the carriage and behaviour of duke Hamilton,

and of the posture that kingdom would speedily be in, and of the resolutions that would be there taken; and made some smart propositions to the king for the remedy; which there was not then time to consult: but as soon as the king retired to Oxford, after the battle of Newbury, and had fuller intelligence, by the resort of others of that nobility who deserved to be trusted, how the affairs stood in Scotland; and heard that duke Hamilton, and his brother, the earl of Lanrick, were upon their way as far as York towards Oxford; his majesty was very willing to hearken to the earl of Mountrose, and the rest, what could be done to prevent that mischief that was like to ensue. But they all unanimously declared, "that they durst make no "propositions for the advancement of the king's "service, except they might be first assured, that "no part of it should be communicated to duke "Hamilton; nor he suffered to have any part or "share in any action that should depend upon it; "for that they were most assured that he had "always betrayed his majesty; and that it had "been absolutely in his power to have prevented "this new combination, if he would resolutely have "opposed it. But if they might be secure in that "particular, they would make some attempt under "his majesty's commission in their own country, "as might possibly make some disturbance there." His majesty thought he had much less reason to be confident of the duke than formerly; for he had expressly failed of doing somewhat which he had promised to do; yet he thought he had not ground enough to withdraw all kind of trust from him, except he did, at the same time, secure him from

being able to do him farther mischief; towards which kind of severity, he did not think he had evidence enough. Besides he had a very good opinion of the earl of Lanrick, as a man of much more plainness and sincerity than his brother; as in truth he was. That he might bring himself to a full resolution in this important affair, his majesty appointed the lord keeper, his two secretaries, the master of the rolls, and the chancellor of the exchequer, to examine the earl of Mountrose, the earl of Kinnoul, the lord Ogilby, and some others, upon oath, of all things they could accuse duke Hamilton, or his brother Lanrick of; and to take their examinations in writing; that so his majesty might discover, whether their errors proceeded from infidelity, and consider the better, what course to observe in his proceedings with them; and this was carried with as much secrecy, as an affair of that nature could be, wherein so many were trusted.

Upon their examination, there appeared too much cause to conclude, that the duke had not behaved himself with that loyalty as he ought to have done. The earl of Mountrose, whilst he had been of that party, had been privy to much of his correspondence and intelligence. But most of the particulars related to the time when he commanded the fleet in the Frith, and when he had many conferences with his mother, (who was a woman most passionate in those contrivances,) and with others of that party; and when he did nothing to hurt or incommodate the enemy; all which was expressly pardoned by the act of oblivion, which had been passed with all formality and solemnity

by the king in the parliament of both kingdoms: and, so much as to question what was so forgot, might raise a greater fire, than that which they desired to quench; though the knowing so many particulars might be a good and proper caution. In the late transactions of Scotland, it was manifest that the duke had absolutely opposed all overtures of force, and for seizing those persons who could only be able to raise new troubles; which had been very easy to have done; and that he had betrayed the king, and all the lords, in consenting to the meeting of the parliament, called and summoned against the king's express pleasure and command, and without any pretence of law. And to this, the king's approbation and consent had been shewed to them, by the duke, under the king's own hand; which they durst not disobey, though they foresaw this mischief.

The case was this; the duke had given the king an account, after he had himself promised the king that the parliament should never be assembled, (which his majesty abhorred,) "that though some "few hot and passionate men desired to put them-"selves in arms, to stop both elections of the "members, and any meeting together in parlia-"ment; yet, that all sober men who could bear "any considerable part in the action, were clearly "of the opinion, to take as much pains as they "could to cause good elections to be made, and "then to appear themselves; and that they had "hope to have such a major part, that they might "more advantageously dissolve the meeting as "soon as they came together, than prevent it; "however, that then would be the fit time to pro-

" test against it, and immediately to put themselves " into arms, for which they would be well provided " at the same time;" and to this state he desired the king's positive direction. And his majesty, in answer to it, had said, " since it was the opinion " of all his friends, he would not command them " to do that which was against their judgment; " but would attend the success; and was content " that they should all appear in the parliament at " its first meeting:" and the duke had shewed the lords those words in the king's letter, with which they acquiesced, without knowing any thing of the ground of such his permission: whereas, in truth, there was no one person who was of that opinion, or had given that counsel, but had still detested the expedient when proposed.

Then the duke's carriage in the parliament, and his brother's, at their first coming together, appeared to be as is set down before, by the testimony of those who were present; and the earl of Lanrick's applying the signet to the proclamation for that rendezvous where the army was to be compounded, was not thought capable of any excuse; and so the clear state of the evidence, upon the depositions of the persons examined, was presented to the king for his own determination. His majesty had some thoughts of sending to the marquis of Newcastle to stop the duke and his brother at York, and not suffer them to come nearer; but whilst that was in deliberation, they both came to Oxford, and meant the same night to have kissed their majesties' hands; but as soon as they arrived, they received a command from the king, " to keep " their chambers;" and had a guard attended

them. The king resolved to consult the whole affair then with the council-board, whereas hitherto the examinations had been taken by a committee, to the end that he might resolve what way to proceed; and to that end directed that a transcript might be prepared, of all the examinations at large; and that the witnesses might be ready to appear before the board, if it should be thought necessary; his majesty at that time inclining to have both the lords present, and the depositions read, and the witnesses confronted before them. But whilst this was preparing, the second morning after their coming to the town, the earl of Lanrick, either having corrupted or deluded the guard, found a means to escape; and by the assistance of one Cunningham (a gentleman of the privy-chamber, and of that nation) had horses ready; with which the earl and his friend fled, and went directly to London; where he was very well received. Hereupon the king informed the board of the whole affair; and because one of them was escaped, and the matters against the other having been transacted in Scotland, and so, in many respects, it was not a season to proceed judicially against him, it was thought enough for the present to prevent his doing farther mischief, by putting him under a secure restraint: and so he was sent in custody to the castle at Bristol, and from thence to Exeter, and so to the castle at Pendennis in Cornwall; where we shall leave him.

About this time the councils at Westminster lost a principal supporter, by the death of Jo. Pym; who died with great torment and agony of a disease unusual, and therefore the more spoken of, *morbus*

pediculosus, as was reported; which rendered him an object very loathsome to those who had been most delighted with him. No man had more to answer for the miseries of the kingdom, or had his hand, or head, deeper in their contrivance. And yet, I believe, they grew much higher even in his life, than he designed. He was a man of a private quality and condition of life his education in the office of the exchequer, where he had been a clerk; and his parts rather acquired by industry, than supplied by nature, or adorned by art. He had been well known in former parliaments; and was one of those few, who had sat in many; the long intermission of parliaments having worn out most of those who had been acquainted with the rules and orders observed in those conventions. And this gave him some reputation and reverence amongst those who were but now introduced.

He had been most taken notice of, for being concerned and passionate in the jealousies of religion, and much troubled with the countenance which had been given to those opinions that had been imputed to Arminius; and this gave him great authority and interest with those who were not pleased with the government of the church, or the growing power of the clergy: yet himself industriously took care to be believed, and he professed to be very entire to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England. In the short parliament before this, he spoke much, and appeared to be the most leading man; for besides the exact knowledge of the forms, and orders of that council, which few men had, he had a very comely and grave way of expressing himself, with

great volubility of words, natural and proper; and understood the temper and affections of the kingdom as well as any man; and had observed the errors and mistakes in government; and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were. After the unhappy dissolution of that parliament, he continued for the most part about London, in conversation and great repute amongst those lords who were most strangers to the court, and were believed most averse to it; in whom he improved all imaginable jealousies and discontents towards the state; and as soon as this parliament was resolved to be summoned, he was as diligent to procure such persons to be elected as he knew to be most inclined to the way he meant to take.

At the first opening of this parliament, he appeared passionate and prepared against the earl of Strafford; and though in private designing he was much governed by Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Saint-John, yet he seemed to all men to have the greatest influence upon the house of commons of any man; and, in truth, I think he was at that time, and for some months after, the most popular man, and the most able to do hurt, that hath lived in any time. Upon the first design of softening and obliging the powerful persons in both houses, when it was resolved to make the earl of Bedford lord high treasurer of England, the king likewise intended to make Mr. Pym chancellor of the exchequer; for which he received his majesty's promise, and made a return of a suitable profession of his service and devotion; and thereupon, the other being no secret, somewhat declined from that sharpness in the house, which was more

popular than any man's, and made some overtures to provide for the glory and splendour of the crown; in which he had so ill success, that his interest and reputation there visibly abated; and he found that he was much better able to do hurt than good; which wrought very much upon him to melancholy, and complaint of the violence and discomposure of the people's affections and inclinations. In the end, whether upon the death of the earl of Bedford he despaired of that preferment, or whether he was guilty of any thing, which, upon his conversion to the court, he thought might be discovered to his damage, or for pure want of courage, he suffered himself to be carried by those who would not follow him, and so continued in the head of those who made the most desperate propositions.

In the prosecution of the earl of Strafford, his carriage and language was such that expressed much personal animosity; and he was accused of having practised some arts in it not worthy a good man; as an Irishman of very mean and low condition afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to him, as an evidence of one part of the charge against the lord lieutenant, in a particular of which a person of so vile quality would not be reasonably thought a competent informer; Mr. Pym gave him money to buy him a satin suit and cloak; in which equipage he appeared at the trial, and gave his evidence; which, if true, may make many other things, which were confidently reported afterwards of him, to be believed; as that he received a great sum of money from the French ambassador, [which hath been before mentioned,] to hinder the trans-

portation of those regiments of Ireland into Flanders, upon the disbanding that army there; which had been prepared by the earl of Strafford for the business of Scotland; in which if his majesty's directions and commands had not been diverted and contradicted by the houses, many do believe the rebellion in Ireland had not happened.

Certain it is, that his power of doing shrewd turns was extraordinary, and no less in doing good offices for particular persons; and that he did preserve many from censure, who were under the severe displeasure of the houses, and looked upon as eminent delinquents; and the quality of many of them made it believed, that he had sold that protection for valuable considerations. From the time of his being accused of high treason by the king, with the lord Kimbolton, and the other members, he never entertained thoughts of moderation, but always opposed all overtures of peace and accommodation, and when the earl of Essex was disposed, the last summer, by those lords to an inclination towards a treaty, as is before remembered, Mr. Pym's power and dexterity wholly changed him, and wrought him to that temper, which he afterwards swerved not from. He was wonderfully solicitous for the Scots coming in to their assistance, though his indisposition of body was so great, that it might well have made another impression upon his mind. During his sickness, he was a very sad spectacle; but none being admitted to him who had not concurred with him, it is not known what his last thoughts and considerations were. He died towards the end of Decem-

ber, before the Scots entered; and was buried with wonderful pomp and magnificence, in that place where the bones of our English kings and princes are committed to their rest.

The arrival of the prince elector at London was no less the discourse of all tongues, than the death of Mr. Pym. He had been in England before the troubles, and received and cherished by the king with great demonstration of grace and kindness, and supplied with a pension of twelve thousand pounds sterling yearly. When the king left London, he attended his majesty to York, and resided there with him till the differences grew so high, that his majesty found it necessary to resolve to raise an army for his defence. Then, on the sudden, without giving the king many days' notice of his resolution, that prince elector left the court; and taking the opportunity of an ordinary vessel, embarked himself for Holland, to the wonder of all men; who thought it an unseasonable declaration of his fear at least of the parliament, and his desire of being well esteemed by them, when it was evident they esteemed not the king as they should. And this was the more spoken of, when it was afterwards known that the parliament expressed a good sense of his having deserted the king, and imputed it to his conscience, "that he knew of "some such designs of his majesty, as he could "not comply with." At this time, after many loud discourses of his coming, (which were derived to Oxford, as somewhat that might have an influence upon his majesty's counsels, there being then several whispers of some high proceedings they intended against the king,) he arrived at London,

and was received with ceremony; lodged in Whitehall, and order taken for the payment of that pension which had been formerly assigned to him by his majesty; and a particular direction by both houses, "that he should be admitted to sit in the "assembly of divines;" where, after he had taken the covenant, he was contented to be often present: of all which the king took no other notice, than sometimes to express, "that he was sorry on his "nephew's behalf, that he thought fit to declare "such a compliance."

The defeat of colonel John Bellasis at Selby by sir Thomas Fairfax, and the destruction of all the Irish regiments under the lord Byron, together with the terror of the Scottish army, had so let loose all the king's enemies in the northern parts, which were lately at the king's devotion, that his friends were in great distress in all places before the season was ripe to take the field. The earl of Derby, who had kept Lancashire in reasonable subjection, and enclosed all the enemies of that county within the town of Manchester, was no longer able to continue that restraint, but forced to place himself at a greater distance from them; which was like, in a short time, to increase the number of the rebels there. Newark a very necessary garrison in the county of Nottingham, [which] had not only subjected that little county, the town of Nottingham only excepted, which was upon the matter confined within its own walls, but kept a great part of the large county of Lincoln under contribution, was now reduced to so great straits by the forces of that country, under the command of Meldrum a Scotchman, with addition

of others from Hull, that they were compelled to beg relief from the king at Oxford; whilst the marquis of Newcastle had enough to do to keep the Scots at a bay, and to put York in a condition to endure a siege, if he should be forced to continue within those walls.

In these straits, though it was yet the depth of winter, and to provide the better for the security of Shrewsbury, and Chester, and North Wales, all which were terrified with the defeat of the lord Byron, the king found it necessary to send prince Rupert, with a good body of chosen horse, and dragoons, and some foot, with direction, after he had visited Shrewsbury and Chester, and used all possible endeavours to make new levies, that he should attempt the relief of Newark: which, being lost, would cut off all possible communication between Oxford and York. In Newark, the garrison consisted most of the gentry of the county, and the inhabitants, ill supplied with any thing requisite to a siege, but courage and excellent affections. The enemy intrenched themselves before the town, and proceeded by approach; conceiving they had time enough, and not apprehending it possible to be disturbed: and indeed it was not easy for the king to find a way for their relief. To send a body from Oxford was very hazardous, and the enemy so strong, as they would quickly follow; so that there was no hope but from Shrewsbury and Chester, where prince Rupert had given so much life to those parts, and drawn so handsome a body together, that the enemy found little advantage by their late victory, in the enlargement of their quarters. So that his highness

resolved to try what he could do for Newark, and undertook it before he was ready for it, and thereby performed it. For the enemy, who had always excellent intelligence, was so confident that he had not a strength sufficient to attempt that work, that he was within six miles of them, before they believed he thought of them; and charging and routing some of their horse, pursued them with that expedition, that he besieged them in their own intrenchment, with his horse, before his foot came within four miles. And in that consternation, they concluding that he must have a vast power and strength, to bring them into those straits, he, with a number inferior to the enemy, and utterly unaccommodated for an action of time, brought them to accept of leave to depart, that is to disband, without their arms, or any carriage or baggage. And so he relieved Newark, and took above four thousand arms, eleven pieces of brass cannon, two mortar pieces, and above fifty barrels of powder; which was a victory as prodigious, as any happened throughout the war: and with this prosperous action, which was performed on the 22d of March, we shall conclude the transactions of this year.

THE END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION, &c.

BOOK VIII.

AS the winter had been very unprosperous and unsuccessful to the king, in the diminution and loss of those forces, upon which he chiefly depended to sustain the power of the enemy the year ensuing; so the spring entered with no better presage. When both armies had entered into their winter quarters, to refresh themselves after so much fatigue, the great preparation that was made at London, and the fame of sending sir William Waller into the west, put the king upon the resolution of having such a body in his way, as might give him interruption, without prince Maurice's being disturbed in his siege of Plymouth; which was not thought to be able to make long resistance. To this purpose the lord Hopton was appointed to command an army apart, to be levied out of the garrison of Bristol, and those western counties adjacent newly reduced; and where his reputation and interest was very great; by which he had in a short time

raised a pretty body of foot and horse; the which receiving an addition of two very good regiments (though not many in number) out of Munster, under the command of sir Charles Vavasour, and sir John Pawlet, and a good troop of horse under the command of captain Bridges, all which had been transported, according to former orders, out of Ireland to Bristol, since the cessation, the lord Hopton advanced to Salisbury, and shortly after to Winchester; whither sir John Berkley brought him two regiments more of foot, raised by him in Devonshire; so that he had in all, at least, three thousand foot, and about fifteen hundred horse; which, in so good a post as Winchester was, would in a short time have grown to a pretty army; and was at present strong enough to have stopped, or attended Waller in his western expedition; nor did he expect to have found such an obstruction in his way. And therefore, when he was upon his march, and was informed of the lord Hopton's being at Winchester with such a strength, he retired to Farnham; and quartered there, till he gave his masters an account that he wanted other supplies.

It was a general misfortune, and miscomputation of that time, that the party, in all places, which wished well to the king, (which consisted of most of the gentry in most counties; and for the present were awed and kept under by the militia, and other committees of parliament,) had so good an opinion of their own reputation and interest, that they believed they were able, upon the assistance of few troops, to suppress their neighbours who were of the other party, and who, upon the advan-

tage of the power they were possessed of, exercised their authority over them with great rigour and insolence. And so the lord Hopton was no sooner possessed of Winchester, where sir William Ogle had likewise seized upon the castle for the king, and put it into a tenable condition, than the gentlemen of Sussex, and of the adjacent parts of Hampshire, sent privately to him, "that if he would "advance into their country, they would under-"take, in a short time, to make great levies of "men for the recruit of his army; and likewise to "possess themselves of such places as they would "be well able to defend; and thereby keep that "part of the country in the king's obedience."

Sir Edward Ford, a gentleman of a good family, and fair fortune in Sussex, had then a regiment of horse in the lord Hopton's troops, and the king had made him high sheriff of Sussex that year, to the end that, if there were occasion, he might the better make impression upon that county. He had with him, in his regiment, many of the gentlemen of that country of good quality: and they all besought the lord Hopton, "that he would, since "Waller was not like to advance, at least send "some troops into those parts, to give a little "countenance to the levies they should be well "able to make;" assuring him, "that they would, "in the first place, seize upon Arundel castle; "which, standing upon the sea, would yield great "advantage to the king's service, and keep that "rich corner of the country at his majesty's devo-"tion." These, and many other specious undertakings, disposed the lord Hopton, who had an extraordinary appetite to engage Waller in a battle,

upon old accounts, to wish himself at liberty to comply with those gentlemen's desires: of all which, he gave such an account to the king, as made it appear, that he liked the design, and thought it practicable, if he had an addition of a regiment or two of foot, under good officers; for that quarter of Sussex, which he meant to visit, was a fast and enclosed country, and Arundel castle had a garrison in it, though not numerous, or well provided, as being without apprehension of an enemy.

It was about Christmas, and the king had no farther design for the winter, than to keep Waller from visiting and disturbing the west, and to recruit his army to such a degree as to be able to take the field early; which he knew the rebels resolved to do: yet the good post the lord Hopton was already possessed of at Winchester, and these positive undertakings from Sussex, wrought upon many to think, that this opportunity should not be lost. The king had great assurance of the general good affections of the county of Kent; insomuch as the people had with difficulty been restrained from making some attempt, upon the confidence of their own strength; and if there could be now such a foundation laid, that there might be a conjunction between that and Sussex, it might produce an association little inferior to that of the southern counties under the earl of Manchester; and might, by the spring, be an argument of that distraction to the parliament, that they might not well know to what part to dispose their armies; and the king might apply his own to that part and purpose, as should seem most reasonable to him.

These and other reasons prevailed, and the king

gave the lord Hopton order to prosecute his design upon Sussex, in such manner as he thought fit; provided, that he was well assured, that Waller should not make advantage, upon that enterprise, to find the way open to him to march into the west. And that he might be the better able to prosecute the one, and to provide for the other, sir Jacob Astley was likewise sent to him from Reading, with a thousand commanded men of that garrison, Wallingford, and Oxford; which supply no sooner arrived at Winchester, but the lord Hopton resolved to visit Waller's quarters, if it were possible to engage him; however that he might judge by the posture he was in, whether he were like to pursue his purpose for the west. Waller was then quartered at Farnham, and the villages adjacent, from whence he drew out his men, and faced the enemy, as if he intended to fight, but, after some light skirmishes for a day or two, in which he always received loss, he retired himself into the castle of Farnham, a place of great strength; and drew his army into the town; and, within three or four days, went himself to London, more effectually to solicit recruits, than his letters had been able to do.

When the lord Hopton saw that he could attempt no farther upon the troops, and was fully assured that sir William Waller was himself gone to London, he concluded, that it was a good time to comply with the importunity of the gentlemen of Sussex; and marched thither, with such a body of horse and foot, as he thought competent for the service. And the exceeding hard frost made his march more easy through those deep dirty ways, than better weather would have done; and he

came to Arundel before there was any imagination that he had that place in his prospect. The place in its situation was very strong; and though the fortifications were not regular, but of the old fashion, yet the walls were very strong, and the graff broad, and deep; and though the garrison was not numerous enough to have defended all the large circuit against a powerful army, yet it was strong enough, in all respects, to have defied all assaults; and might, without putting themselves to any trouble, have been very secure against the attempts of those without. But the provisions of victual, or ammunition, was not sufficient to have endured any long restraint; and the officer who commanded had not been accustomed to the prospect of an enemy. And so upon an easy and short summons, that threatened his obstinacy with a very rigorous chastisement, if he should defer the giving it up; either from the effect of his own fear, and want of courage, or from the good inclinations of some of the soldiers, the castle was surrendered the third day; and appeared to be a place more worth the keeping, and capable, in a short time, to be made secure against a good army.

The lord Hopton, after he had stayed there five or six days, and caused provisions of all kinds to be brought in, committed the command and government thereof to sir Edward Ford, high sheriff of the county, with a garrison of above two hundred men; besides many good officers; who desired, or were very willing, to stay; as a place very favourable for the making levies of men, which they all intended. And, it may be, the more remained there, out of the weariness and fatigue of their late

marches, and that they might spend the remainder of the winter with better accommodation.

The news of sir William Waller's return to Farnham with strong recruits of horse and foot, made it necessary to the lord Hopton to leave Arundel castle before he had put it into the good posture he intended. And, without well considering the mixture of the men he left there, whereof many were of insolent and pragmatical natures, not like to conform themselves to those strict rules as the condition of the place required, or to use that industry, as the exigence, they were like to be in, made necessary, the principal thing he recommended and enjoined to them was, " in the first " place, setting all other things aside, to draw in " store of provisions of all kinds, both for the num- " bers they were already, and for such as would " probably in a short time be added to them;" all which, from the great plenty that country then abounded in, was very easy to have been done. And if it had been done, that place would have remained long such a thorn in the side of the parliament, as would have rendered it very uneasy to them, at least have interrupted the current of their prosperity.

Waller's journey to London answered his expectation; and his presence had an extraordinary operation, to procure any thing desired. He reported the lord Hopton's forces to be much greater than they were, that his own might be made proportionable to encounter them. And the quick progress he had made in Sussex, and his taking Arundel castle, made them thought to be greater than he reported them to be. His so easily possess-

ing himself of a place of that strength, which they supposed to have been impregnable, and in a county where the king had before no footing, awakened all their jealousies and apprehensions of the affections of Kent, and all other places; and looked like a land-flood, that might roll they knew not how far; so that there needed no importunate solicitation to provide a remedy against this growing evil. The ordinary method they had used for recruiting their armies by levies of volunteers, and persuading the apprentices of the city to become soldiers, upon the privilege they gave them for their freedom, for the time they fought for them, as if they had remained in their master's service, was now too dull and lazy an expedient to resist this torrent; they therefore resort to their inexhaustible magazine of men, their devoted city, to whose affections the person of sir William Waller was most acceptable; and persuaded them immediately to cause two of their strongest regiments of auxiliaries, to march out of the line to Farnham; which they consented to. And then they appointed the earl of Essex to give his orders to sir William Balfour, with one thousand of the horse of his army, likewise to observe Waller's commands; who, with this great addition of forces, made haste to his other troops at Farnham; where he scarce rested, but after he had informed himself how the lord Hopton's army lay quartered, which was at too great a distance from each other, he marched, according to his custom in those occasions, (as beating up of quarters was his master-piece,) all the night; and, by the break of day, encompassed a great village called Alton, where a troop or two of horse, and a regiment of

foot of the king's lay in too much security. However, the horse took the alarm quickly, and for the most part made their escape to Winchester, the head quarter; whither the lord Hopton was returned but the night before from Arundel. Colonel Boles, who commanded his own regiment of foot there, consisting of about five hundred men, which had been drawn out of the garrison of Wallingford, when he found himself encompassed by the enemy's army of horse and foot, saw he could not defend himself, or make other resistance than by retiring with his men into the church, which he hoped to maintain for so many hours, that relief might be sent to him; but he had not time to barricado the doors; so that the enemy entered almost as soon; and after a short resistance, in which many were killed, the soldiers, overpowered, threw down their arms, and asked quarter; which was likewise offered to the colonel; who refused it, and valiantly defended himself, till, with the death of two or three of the assailants, he was killed in the place; his enemies giving him a testimony of great courage and resolution.

Waller knew well the impression the loss of this very good regiment would make upon the lord Hopton's forces, and that the report which the troops of horse which had escaped would make, would add nothing of courage to their fellows; so that there was no probability that they would make haste to advance; and therefore, with wonderful celerity, the hard frost continuing, he marched with all his army to Arundel castle, where he found that garrison as unprovided as he could wish. And, instead of increasing the magazine of victual by

supplies from the country, they had spent much of that store which the lord Hopton had provided. The governor was a man of honesty and courage, but unacquainted with that affair, having no other experience in war, than what he had learned since these troubles. The officers were many without command, amongst whom one colonel Bamford, an Irishman, though he called himself Bamfield, was one; who, being a man of wit and parts, applied all his faculties to improve the faction, to which they were all naturally inclined, with a hope to make himself governor. In this distraction Waller found them, and by some of the soldiers running out to him, he found means again to send in to them; and so increased their faction and animosity against one another, that, after he had kept them waking, with continual alarms, three or four days, near half the men being sick, and unable to do duty, rather than they would trust each other longer, they gave the place and themselves up as prisoners of war upon quarter; the place being able to have defended itself against all that power, for a much longer time. Here the learned and eminent Mr. Chillingworth was taken prisoner; who, out of kindness and respect to the lord Hopton, had accompanied him in that march; and, being indisposed by the terrible coldness of the season, chose to repose himself in that garrison, till the weather should mend. As soon as his person was known, which would have drawn reverence from any noble enemy, the clergy that attended that army prosecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable; so that, by their barbarous usage, he died within few days; to the grief of all

that knew him, and of many who knew him not but by his book, and the reputation he had with learned men.

The lord Hopton sustained the loss of this regiment with extraordinary trouble of mind, and as a wound that would bleed inward; and therefore was the more inflamed with desire of a battle with Waller, to make even all accounts; and made what haste he could, upon the first advertisement, to have redeemed that misfortune; and hoped to have come time enough to have relieved Arundel castle; which he never suspected would so tamely have given themselves up: but that hope quickly vanished, upon the undoubted intelligence of that surrender, and the news that Waller was returned with a full resolution to prosecute his design upon the west: to which, besides the encouragement of his two late victories, with which he was marvellously elated, he was in some degree necessitated, out of apprehension that the horse, which belonged to the earl of Essex's army, might be speedily recalled; and the time would be quickly expired, that he had promised the auxiliary regiments of London that he would dismiss them.

Upon the news the king received of the great supply the parliament had so suddenly sent to Waller, both from the earl of Essex's army, and from the city, he thought it necessary to send such an addition of foot as he could draw out of Oxford, and the neighbour garrisons. And the earl of Brentford, general of the army, who had a fast friendship with the lord Hopton, expressing a good inclination to make him a visit, rather than to sit still in his winter quarters, his majesty was very

glad, and cherished that disposition, and was desirous that so great an officer might be present in an army, upon which so much of his hopes depended; and which did not abound with officers of great experience. And so the general, with such volunteers as were ready to accompany him, went to Winchester; where he found the lord Hopton in agony for the loss of the regiment of foot at Alton, and confounded with the unexpected assurance of the giving up of Arundel castle. He was exceedingly revived with the presence of the general, and desired to receive his orders, and that he would take upon him the absolute command of the troops; which he as positively refused to do; only offered to keep him company in all expeditions, and to give him the best assistance he was able; which the lord Hopton was compelled to be contented with: nor could there be a greater union and consent between two friends; the general being ready to give his advice upon all particulars; and the other doing nothing without communication with him, and then conforming to his opinion, and giving orders accordingly.

As soon as they were informed that Waller had drawn all his troops together about Farnham, and meant to march towards them, they cheerfully embraced the occasion, and went to meet him; and about Alresford, near the midway between Winchester and Farnham, they came to know how near they were to each other; and, being in view, chose the ground upon which they meant the battle should be fought; of which Waller, being first there, got the advantage for the drawing up his horse. The king's army consisted of about five

thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and Waller, with sir William Balfour, exceeded in horse; but they were upon the matter equal in foot; with this only advantage, that both his horse and foot were, as they were always, much better armed; no man wanting any weapon, offensive or defensive, that was proper for him; and sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment of cuirassiers, called the *lobsters*, was so formidable, that the king's naked and unarmed troops, among which few were better armed than with swords, could not bear their impression.

The king's horse never behaved themselves so ill as that day. For the main body of them, after they had sustained one fierce charge, wheeled about to an unreasonable distance, and left their principal officers to shift for themselves. The foot behaved themselves very gallantly, and had not only the better of the other foot, but bore two or three charges from the horse with notable courage, and without being broken: whilst those horse, which stood upon the field, and should have assisted them, could be persuaded but to stand. When the evening drew near, for the approach whereof neither party was sorry, the lord Hopton thought it necessary to leave the field; and drawing off his men, and carrying with him many of the wounded, he retired with all his cannon and ammunition, whereof he lost none, that night to Reading: the enemy being so scattered, that they had no mind to pursue; only Waller himself made haste to Winchester, where he thought, upon this success, to have been immediately admitted into that castle; which was his own inheritance. But he found

that too well defended; and so returned with taking revenge upon the city, by plundering it with all the insolence and rapine imaginable.

There could not then be any other estimate made of the loss Waller sustained, than by the not pursuing the visible advantage he had, and by the utter refusal of the auxiliary regiments of London and Kent to march farther; and within three or four days they left him, and returned to their habitations, with great lamentation of their friends who were missing. On the king's side, besides common men, and many good officers, there fell that day the lord John Stewart, brother to the duke of Richmond, and general of the horse of that army; and sir John Smith, brother to the lord Carrington, and commissary general of the horse. They were both brought off the field by the few horse that stayed with them, and did their duty; and carried to Reading; and the next day to Abingdon, that they might be nearer to the assistance of the best remedies by physicians and surgeons. But they lived only to the second dressing of their wounds, which were very many upon either of them.

The former was a young man of extraordinary hope, little more than one and twenty years of age; who, being of a more choleric and rough nature than the other branches of that illustrious and princely family, was not delighted with the softnesses of the court, but had dedicated himself to the profession of arms, when he did not think the scene should have been in his own country. His courage was so signal that day, that too much could not be expected from it, if he had outlived it; and he was so generally beloved, that he could not

but be very generally lamented. The other, sir John Smith, had been trained up from his youth in the war of Flanders; being of an ancient catholic family; and had long the reputation of one of the best officers of horse. As soon as the first troubles appeared in Scotland, he betook himself to the service of his own prince; and, from the beginning of the war to his own end, performed many signal actions of courage. And the death of these two eminent officers made the names of many who perished that day the less inquired into and mentioned.

This battle was fought the 29th day of March; which was a very doleful entering into the beginning of the year 1644, and broke all the measures, and altered the whole scheme, of the king's counsels: for whereas before, he hoped to have entered the field early, and to have acted an offensive part; he now discerned he was wholly to be upon the defensive part; and that was like to be a very hard part too. For he found, within very few days after, that he was not only deprived of the men he had lost at Alresford, but that he was not to expect any recruit of his army by a conjunction with prince Rupert; who, he believed, would have returned in time, after his great success at Newark, with a strong body both of horse and foot, from Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales: all which hopes were soon blasted; for the prince had scarce put the garrison of Newark in order, and provided it to endure another attack, which they might have reasonably expected upon his highness's departure, (though indeed the shame of the defeat, and the rage among the officers and soldiers, when they

saw by what a handful of men they had been terrified and subdued, broke and dissolved that whole body within few days,) when he received great instance from the earl of Derby to come into Lancashire to relieve him, who was already besieged in his own strong house at Latham by a strong body, with whom he was not able to contend. And to dispose the prince the more willingly to undertake his relief, the earl made ample promises, "that within "so many days after the siege should be raised, "with any defeat to the enemy, he would advance "his highness's levies with two thousand men, and "supply him with a considerable sum of money." And the earl had likewise, by an express, made the same instance to the king at Oxford; from whence his majesty sent his permission and approbation to the prince, before his departure from Newark; hoping still that his highness would be able to despatch that service in Lancashire, and with the more notable recruits of men in those parts, be able to return to Oxford by the time that it would be necessary for his majesty to take the field. But within a short time he was disappointed of that expectation; for before the prince could finish his expedition into Lancashire, (which he did with wonderful gallantry; raised the siege at Latham with a great execution upon the enemy; and took two or three of their garrisons obstinately defended, and therefore with the greater slaughter,) the marquis of Newcastle was compelled to retire, with his whole army, within the walls of York. He had been well able to have defended himself against the numerous army of the Scots, and would have been

glad to have been engaged with them; but he found he had a worse enemy to deal with.

From the time that the ruling party of the parliament discerned that their general, the earl of Essex, would never serve their turn, or comply with all their desires, they resolved to have another army apart, that should be more at their devotion; and in the forming whereof, they would be sure to choose such officers, as would probably not only observe their orders, but have the same inclinations with them. Their pretence was, "that there were "so many disaffected persons of the nobility, and "principal gentry, in the counties of Norfolk and "Suffolk, that, if great care was not taken to pre-"vent it, there might a body start up there for the "king; which, upon the success of the marquis of "Newcastle, whose arms then reached into Lin-"colnshire, might grow very formidable." For prevention whereof, they had formed an association between Essex, (a county, upon the influence of the earl of Warwick, and the power of his clergy, they most confided in,) Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Bedford, and Huntington; in all which they had many persons of whose entire affections they were well assured; and, in most of them, there were few considerable persons who wished them ill. Of this association they had made the earl of Manchester general, to be subject only to their own commands, and independent upon the earl of Essex. And under him, they chose Oliver Cromwell to command their horse; and many other officers, who never intended to be subject again to the king, and avowed other principles in conscience

and religion, than had been before publicly declared.

And to this general they gave order "to reside "within that association; and to make levies of "men, sufficient to keep those counties in obe- "dience:" for at first they pretended no more. But, in the secret treaty made by sir Harry Vane with the Scots, they were bound, as soon as the Scots should enter into Yorkshire with their army, that a body of English horse, foot, and cannon, should be ready to assist them, commanded by their own officers, as a body apart: the Scots not then trusting their own great numbers, as equal to fight with the English. And from that time they were much more careful to raise, and liberally supply, and provide for that army under the earl of Manchester, than for the other under the earl of Essex. And now, according to their agreement, upon the Scots' first entrance into Yorkshire, the earl of Manchester had likewise order to march with his whole body thither; having, for the most part, a committee of the parliament, whereof sir Harry Vane was one, with him; as there was another committee of the Scottish parliament always in that army; there being also now a committee of both kingdoms residing at London, for the carrying on the war.

The marquis of Newcastle, being thus pressed on both sides, was necessitated to draw all his army of foot and cannon into York, with some troops of horse; and sent the body of his horse, under the command of general Goring, to remain in those places he should find most convenient, and from whence he might best infest the enemy;

and then sent an express to the king, to inform him of the condition he was in; and to let him know, "that he doubted not to defend himself in that "post for the term of six weeks, or two months; "in which time he hoped his majesty would find "some way to relieve him." And upon receipt of this letter, the king sent orders to prince Rupert, that "as soon as he had relieved the lord Derby, "and recruited, and refreshed his army, he should "march, with what expedition he could, to relieve "York; where being joined by the marquis of "Newcastle's army, there was hope they might "fight the enemy: and his majesty would put "himself into as good a posture as he could to "take the field, without expecting the prince."

All these ill accidents falling out successively in the winter, the king's condition appeared very sad; and which was in more disorder by the queen's being now with child, which wrought upon her majesty's mind very much; and disposed her to so many fears and apprehensions of her safety, that she was very uneasy to herself. She heard every day "of the great forces raised, and in rea-"diness, by the parliament, much greater than "they yet ever had;" which was very true; and "that they resolved, as soon as the season was "ripe, which was at hand, to march all to Ox-"ford." She could not endure to think of being besieged there; and, in conclusion, resolved not to stay there, but to go into the west; from whence, in any distress, she might be able to embark for France. Though there seemed reasons enough to dissuade her from that inclination, and his majesty heartily wished that she could be diverted,

yet the perplexity of her mind was so great, and her fears so vehement, both improved by her indisposition of health, that all civility and reason obliged every body to submit. So, about the beginning of April, she begun her journey from Oxford to the west; and, by moderate journeys, came well to Exeter; where she intended to stay till she was disburdened; for she was within little more than one month of her time; and, being in a place out of the reach of any alarm, she recovered her spirits to a reasonable convalescence.

It was now about the middle of April, when it concerned the king with all possible sagacity, to foresee what probably the parliament meant to attempt with those vast numbers of men which they every day levied; and thereupon to conclude, what it would be possible for his majesty to do, in those exigencies to which he was like to be reduced. The intelligence, that Waller was still designed for the western expedition, made the king appoint his whole army to be drawn together to a rendezvous at Marlborough; where himself was present, and, to his great satisfaction, found the body to consist, after all the losses and misadventures, of no less than six thousand foot, and above four thousand horse. There that body remained for some weeks, to watch and intend Waller's motion, and to fight with him as soon as was possible. Many things were there consulted for the future; and the quitting Reading, and some other garrisons, proposed, for the increasing the field forces: yet nothing was positively resolved, but to expect clearer evidence what the parliament armies would dispose themselves to do.

So the king returned to Oxford, where, upon the desire of the members of parliament who had been called thither, and done all the service they could for the king, they were for the present dismissed, that they might, in their several counties, satisfy the people of the king's importunate desire of peace, but how insolently it had been rejected by the parliament; and thereupon induce them to contribute all they could to his majesty's assistance. They were to meet there again in the month of October following.

Then, that his majesty might draw most of the soldiers of that garrison with him out of Oxford, when he should take the field, that city was persuaded to complete the regiment they had begun to form, under the command of a colonel whom the king had recommended to them; which they did raise to the number of a thousand men. There were likewise two other regiments raised of gentlemen and their servants, and of the scholars of the several colleges and halls of the university; all which regiments did duty there punctually, from the time that the king went into the field, till he returned again to Oxford; and all the lords declared, "that, upon any emergent "occasion, they would mount their servants upon "their horses, to make a good troop for a sudden "service;" which they made good; and thereby, that summer, performed two or three very considerable and important actions.

By this time there was reason to believe, by all the intelligence that could be procured, and by the change of his quarters, that Waller had laid aside his western march; at least that it was suspended;

and that, on the contrary, all endeavours were used to recruit both his and the earl of Essex's army, with all possible expedition; and that neither of them should move upon any action till they should be both complete in greater numbers, than either of them had yet marched with. Hereupon, the king's army removed from Marlborough to Newbury; where they remained near a month, that they might be in a readiness to attend the motion of the enemy, and to assist the garrisons of Reading, or Wallingford; or to draw out either, as there should be occasion.

There had been several deliberations in the council of war, and always very different opinions, what should be done with the garrisons when the king should take the field; and the king himself was irresolute upon those debates, what to do. He communicated the several reasons to prince Rupert by letters, requiring his advice; who, after he had returned answers, and received replies, made a hasty journey to Oxford from Chester, to wait upon his majesty. And it was then positively resolved, "that the garrisons of Oxford, Walling-"ford, Abingdon, Reading, and Banbury, should "be reinforced and strengthened with all the foot; "that a good body of horse should remain about "Oxford, and the rest should be sent into the "west to prince Maurice." If this counsel had been pursued steadily and resolutely, it might probably have been attended with good success. Both armies of the enemy would have been puzzled what to have done, and either of them would have been unwilling to have engaged in a siege against any place so well provided and resolved; and it would have been equally uncounsellable to have marched

to any distance, and have left such an enemy at their backs, that could so easily and quickly have united, and incommoded any march they could have made.

But as it was even impossible to have administered such advice to the king, in the strait he was in, which being pursued might not have proved inconvenient, so it was the unhappy temper of those who were called to those councils, that resolutions, taken upon full debate, were seldom prosecuted with equal resolution and steadiness; but changed upon new, shorter debates, and upon objections which had been answered before: some men being in their natures irresolute and inconstant, and full of objections, even after all was determined according to their own proposals; others being positive, and not to be altered from what they had once declared, how unreasonably soever, or what alterations soever there were in the affairs. And the king himself frequently considered more the person who spoke, as he was in his grace or his prejudice, than the counsel itself that was given; and always suspected, at least trusted less to his own judgment than he ought to have done; which rarely deceived him so much as that of other men.

The persons with whom he only consulted in his martial affairs, and how to carry on the war, were (besides prince Rupert, who was at this time absent) the general, who was made earl of Brentford; the lord Wilmot, who was general of the horse; the lord Hopton, who usually commanded an army apart, and was not often with the king's army, but now present; sir Jacob Astley, who was major-general of the army; the lord Digby, who was

secretary of state; and sir John Colepepper, master of the rolls; for none of the privy-council, those two only excepted, were called to those consultations; though some of them were still advised with, for the better execution, or prosecution, of what was then and there resolved.

The general, though he had been, without doubt, a very good officer, and had great experience, and was still a man of unquestionable courage and integrity; yet he was now much decayed in his parts, and, with the long continued custom of immoderate drinking, dozed in his understanding, which had been never quick and vigorous; he having been always illiterate to the greatest degree that can be imagined. He was now become very deaf, yet often pretended not to have heard what he did not then contradict, and thought fit afterwards to disclaim. He was a man of few words, and of great compliance, and usually delivered that as his opinion, which he foresaw would be grateful to the king.

Wilmot was a man of a haughty and ambitious nature, of a pleasant wit, and an ill understanding, as never considering above one thing at once; but he considered that one thing so impatiently, that he would not admit any thing else to be worth any consideration. He had, from the beginning of the war, been very averse to any advice of the privy-council, and thought fit that the king's affairs (which depended upon the success of the war) should entirely be governed and conducted by the soldiers and men of war, and that no other counsellors should have any credit with his majesty. Whilst prince Rupert was present, his exceeding great prejudice, or rather personal animosity against him,

made any thing that Wilmot said or proposed, enough slighted and contradicted: and the king himself, upon some former account and observation, was far from any indulgence to his person, or esteem of his parts. But now, by the prince's absence, and his being the second man in the army, and the contempt he had of the old general, who was there the only officer above him, he grew marvellously elated, and looked upon himself as one whose advice ought to be followed, and submitted to in all things. He had, by his excessive good fellowship, (in every part whereof he excelled, and was grateful to all the company,) made himself so popular with all the officers of the army, especially of the horse, that he had, in truth, a very great interest; which he desired might appear to the king, that he might have the more interest in him. He was positive in all his advices in council, and bore contradiction very impatiently; and because he was most contradicted by the two privy-counsellors, the secretary, and the master of the rolls, who, he saw, had the greatest influence upon the king, he used all the artifices he could to render them unacceptable and suspected to the officers of the army, by telling them what they had said in council; which he thought would render them the more ungrateful; and, in the times of jollity, persuaded the old general to believe that they invaded his prerogative, and meddled more in the business of the war, than they ought to do; and thereby made him the less disposed to concur with them in advice, how rational and seasonable soever it was; which often put the king to the trouble of converting him.

The lord Hopton was a man superior to any

temptation, and abhorred enough the license, and the levities, with which he saw too many corrupted. He had a good understanding, a clear courage, an industry not to be tired, and a generosity that was not to be exhausted; a virtue that none of the rest had: but, in the debates concerning the war, was longer in resolving, and more apt to change his mind after he had resolved, than is agreeable to the office of a commander in chief; which rendered him rather fit for the second, than for the supreme command in an army.

Sir Jacob Astley was an honest, brave, plain man, and as fit for the office he exercised, of major general of the foot, as Christendom yielded; and was so generally esteemed; very discerning and prompt in giving orders, as the occasions required, and most cheerful, and present in any action. In council he used few, but very pertinent words; and was not at all pleased with the long speeches usually made there; and which rather confounded, than informed his understanding: so that he rather collected the ends of the debates, and what he was himself to do, than enlarged them by his own discourses; though he forbore not to deliver his own mind.

The two privy-counsellors, though they were of the most different natures and constitutions that can be imagined, always agreed in their opinions; and being, in their parts, much superior to the other, usually prevailed upon the king's judgment to like what they approved: yet one of them, who had in those cases the ascendant over the other, had that excess of fancy, that he too often, upon his own recollecting and revolving the grounds of

the resolutions which had been taken, or upon the suggestions of other men, changed his own mind; and thereupon caused orders to be altered, which produced, or were thought to produce, many inconveniences.

This unsteadiness in counsels, and in matters resolved upon, made the former determination concerning the garrisons to be little considered. The king's army had lain above three weeks at and about Newbury; in which time their numbers were nothing improved, beyond what they had been upon their muster near Marlborough, when the king was present. When it was known that both the parliament armies were marched out of London; that under Essex to Windsor; and that of Waller, to the parts between Hertford Bridge and Basing, without any purpose of going farther west; the king's army marched to Reading; and in three days, his majesty being present, they slighted and demolished all the works of that garrison: and then, which was about the middle of May, with the addition of those soldiers, which increased the army five and twenty hundred old soldiers more, very well officered, the army retired to the quarters about Oxford, with an opinion, that it would be in their power to fight with one of the enemy's armies; which they longed exceedingly to do.

The king returned to Oxford, and resolved to stay there till he could have better information what the enemy intended; which was not now so easy as it had formerly been. For, since the conjunction with the Scottish commissioners in one council, for the carrying on the war, little business was brought to be consulted in either of the houses;

and there was much greater secrecy than before; none being admitted into any kind of trust, but they whose affections were known to concur to the most desperate counsels. So that the designs were still entirely formed, before any part of them were communicated to the earl of Essex; nor was more communicated at a time than was necessary for the present execution; of which he was sensible enough, but could not help it. The intention was, "that "the two armies, which marched out together, "should always be distinct; and should only not "sever, till it appeared what course the king meant "to take; and if he stayed in Oxford, it would be "fit for both to be in the siege; the circumvalla-"tion being very great, and to be divided in many "places by the river; which would keep both "armies still asunder under their several officers." But if the king marched out, which they might reasonably presume he would, then the purpose was, "that the earl of Essex should follow the king, "whither ever he went;" which they imagined would be northward; "and that Waller should "march into the west, and subdue that." So that, having so substantially provided for the north by the Scots, and the earl of Manchester; and having an army under the earl of Essex, much superior in number to any the king could be attended with; and the third, under Waller, at liberty for the west; they promised themselves, and too reasonably, that they should make an end of the war that summer.

It was about the tenth of May, that the earl of Essex and sir William Waller marched out of London, with both their armies; and the very next day after the king's army had quitted Reading, the earl

of Essex, from Windsor, sent forces to possess it; and recommended it to the city of London, to provide both men, and all other things necessary for the keeping it; which the memory of what they had suffered for the two past years, by being without it, easily disposed them to do. By this means the earl had the opportunity to join with Waller's army when he should think fit; which before they could not do with convenience or security. Nor did they ever after join in one body, but kept at a fit distance, to be able, if there were occasion, to help each other.

The earl of Essex's army consisted of all his old troops, which had wintered about St. Alban's, and in Bedfordshire; and being now increased with four regiments of the trained bands, and auxiliaries within the city of London, did not amount to less than ten thousand horse and foot. Waller had likewise received a large recruit from London, Kent, and Sussex; and was little inferior in numbers to Essex, and in reputation above him. When the king's army retired from Reading, the horse quartered about Wantage and Farringdon, and all the foot were put into Abingdon, with a resolution to quit or defend that town, according to the manner of the enemy's advance towards it; that is, if they came upon the east side, where, besides some indifferent fortifications, they had the advantage of the river, they would maintain and defend it; if they came on the west side from Wantage and Farringdon, they would draw out and fight, if the enemy were not by much superior in number; and, in that case, they would retire with the whole army to Oxford.

Being satisfied with this resolution, they lay in that quiet posture, without making the least impression upon the enemy, by beating up his quarters; which might easily have been done; or restraining them from making incursions where they had a mind; all which was imputed to the ill humour and negligence of Wilmot. The earl of Essex advanced with his army towards Abingdon; and upon the east part of the town; which was that which they had hoped for, in order to their defending it. But they were no sooner advertised of it, but the general, early the next morning, marched with all the foot out of Abingdon, the horse being come thither in the night to make good the retreat: and all this was done before his majesty had the least notice or suspicion of it. As soon as his majesty was informed of it by sir Charles Blunt, the scout master general, whom the general had sent to acquaint the king with the resolution, he sent sir Charles Blunt back to the general, to let him know the great dislike he had of their purpose to quit the town, and to command him to stay, and not to advance till his majesty came to him; which he made all possible haste to do. But before the messenger could return, the army was within sight of Oxford; and so the foot was drawn through the city, and the horse quartered in the villages about the town.

Abingdon was in this manner, and to the king's infinite trouble, quitted; whither a party of Essex's army came the same night; and the next day, himself with all his foot entered the town; his horse being quartered about it. He then called Waller to bring up his army near him, that they

might resolve in what manner to proceed; and he had his head quarter at Wantage: and so, without the striking one blow, they got the possession of Reading, Abingdon; and were masters of all Berkshire; and forced the king to draw his whole army of horse and foot on the north side of Oxford; where they were to feed on his own quarters, and to consider how to keep Oxford itself from being besieged, and the king from being enclosed in it.

This was the deplorable condition to which the king was reduced before the end of the month of May; insomuch that it was generally reported at London, "that Oxford was taken, and the king a "prisoner;" and others more confidently gave it out, "that his majesty resolved to come to Lon-"don:" of which the parliament was not without some apprehension, though not so much, as of the king's putting himself into the hands of the earl of Essex, and into his protection; which they could not endure to think of; and this troubled them so much, that the committee of both kingdoms, who conducted the war, writ this letter to their general.

"My lord,

"We are credibly informed, that his majesty "intends to come for London. We desire you, "that you will do your endeavour to inform your-"self of the same; and if you think that his ma-"jesty intends at all to come to the armies, that "you acquaint us with the same; and do nothing "therein, until the houses shall give direction."

So much jealousy they had of the earl, and the

more, because they saw not else what the king could do; who could not entertain any reasonable expectation of increase, or addition of force from the north, or from the west; prince Rupert being then in his march into Lancashire, for the relief of the earl of Derby, (besieged in his castle of Latham,) and prince Maurice being still engaged in the unfortunate siege of Lyme in Dorsetshire, a little fisher-town; which, after he had lain before it a month, was much more like to hold out, than it was the first day he came before it. In this perplexity, the king sent the lord Hopton to Bristol, to provide better for the security of that important city; where he knew Waller had many friends; and himself resolved yet to stay at Oxford, till he saw how the two armies would dispose themselves; that, when they were so divided that they could not presently join, he might fight with one of them; which was the greatest hope he had now left.

It was very happy that the two armies lay so long quiet near each other, without pressing the advantages they had, or improving the confusion and distraction, which the king's forces were, at that time, too much inclined to. Orders were given so to quarter the king's army, that it might keep the rebels from passing over either of the rivers, Cherwell, or Isis, which run on the east and west sides of the city; the foot being, for the most part, quartered towards the Cherwell, and the horse, with some dragoons, near the Isis.

In this posture all the armies lay quiet, and without action, for the space of a day; which somewhat composed the minds of those within Oxford, and of the troops without; which had not yet re-

covered their dislike of their having quitted Abingdon, and thereby of being so straitened in their quarters. Some of Waller's forces attempted to pass the Isis at Newbridge, but were repulsed by the king's dragoons. But the next day Essex, with his whole army, got over the Thames at Sandford ferry, and marched to Islip, where he made his quarters; and, in his way, made a halt upon Bullington-green, that the city might take a full view of his army, and he of it. In order to which, himself, with a small party of horse, came within cannon shot; and little parties of horse came very near the ports, and had light skirmishes with some of the king's horse, without any great hurt on either side.

The next morning, a strong party of the earl's army endeavoured to pass over the Cherwell, at Gosworth-bridge; but were repulsed by the musketeers with very considerable loss; and so retired to their body. And now the earl being engaged, with his whole army, on the east side of the river Cherwell, whereby he was disabled to give or receive any speedy assistance to or from Waller; the king resolved to attempt the repossessing himself of Abingdon, and to take the opportunity to fight with Waller singly, before he could be relieved from the other army. In order to this, all the foot were in the evening drawn off from the guard of the passes, and marched through Oxford in the night towards Abingdon; and the earl of Cleveland, a man of signal courage, and an excellent officer upon any bold enterprise, advanced, with a party of one hundred and fifty horse, to the town itself; where there were a thousand foot, and four

hundred horse of Waller's army; and entered the same, and killed many, and took some prisoners: but, upon the alarm, he was so overpowered, that his prisoners escaped, though he killed the chief commander, and made his retreat good, with the loss only of two officers, and as many common soldiers; and so both the attempt upon Abingdon was given over, and the design of fighting Waller laid aside; and the army returned again to their old post, on the north side of Oxford.

Sir Jacob Astley undertook the command himself at Gosworth-bridge, where he perceived the earl intended to force his passage; and presently cast up breastworks, and made a redoubt for the defence of his men, and repulsed the enemy, the second time, very much to their damage and loss; who renewed their assault two or three days together, and planted cannon to facilitate their passage, which did little hurt; but they still lost many men in the attempt. On the other side, Waller's forces from Abingdon did not find the new bridge so well defended; but overpowering those guards, and having got boats, in which they put over their men, both above and below, they got that passage over the river Isis: by which they might have brought over all their army, and fallen upon the king's rear, whilst he was defending the other side.

It was now high time for the king to provide for his own security, and to escape the danger he was in, of being shut up in Oxford. Waller lost no time, but the next day passed over five thousand horse and foot, by Newbridge: the van whereof quartered at Ensham, and, the king's foot being

drawn off from Gosworth-bridge, Essex immediately brought his men over the Cherwell; and quartered that night at Blechingdon; many of his horse advancing to Woodstock; so that the king seemed to them to be perfectly shut in between them; and to his own people, his condition seemed so desperate, that one of those with whom he used to advise in his most secret affairs, and whose fidelity was never suspected, proposed to him to render himself, upon conditions, to the earl of Essex; which his majesty rejected with great indignation; yet had the goodness to conceal the name of the proposer; and said, "that possibly he "might be found in the hands of the earl of Essex, "but he would be dead first." Word was given, "for all the horse to be together, at such an hour," to expect orders; and a good body of foot, with cannon, marched through the town towards Abingdon; by which it was concluded, that both armies would be amused, and Waller induced to draw back over Newbridge: and, as soon as it was evening, the foot, and cannon, returned to their old post on the north side.

The king resolved, for the encouragement of the lords of the council, and the persons of quality who were in Oxford, to leave his son the duke of York there; and promised, if they should be besieged, "to do all he could to relieve them, before they "should be reduced to extremity." He appointed then, "that two thousand and five hundred choice "musketeers should be drawn out of the whole "foot, under the command of sir Jacob Astley, "and four experienced colonels; all which should, "without colours, repair to the place where the

"horse attended to receive orders, and that the "rest of the foot should remain together on the "north side, and so be applied to the defence of "Oxford, if it should be besieged."

All things being in this order, on Monday the third of June, about nine of the clock at night, the king, with the prince, and those lords, and others who were appointed to attend him, and many others of quality who were not appointed, and only thought themselves less secure if they should stay behind, marched out of the north port, attended by his own troop, to the place where the horse, and commanded foot, waited to receive them; and from thence, without any halt, marched between the two armies, and by daybreak were at Hanborough, some miles beyond all their quarters. But the king rested not till the afternoon, when he found himself at Burford; and then concluded that he was in no danger to be overtaken by any army that was to follow with baggage, and a train of artillery: so that he was content to refresh his men there; and supped himself; yet was not without apprehension that he might be followed by a body of the enemy's horse; and therefore, about nine of the clock, he continued his march from Burford over the Cotswold, and by midnight reached Burton upon the Water; where he gave himself, and his wearied troops, more rest and refreshment.

The morning after the king left Oxford, the foot marched again through Oxford, as if they meant to go to Abingdon, to continue that amusement which the day before had prevailed with Waller, to send many of his men back, and to

delay his own advance; and likewise, that quarters might be provided for them against their return; which they did by noon. The earl of Essex had that morning, from Blechingdon, sent some horse to take a view of Oxford, and to learn what was doing there. And they seeing the colours standing, as they had done two days before, made him conclude, that the king was still there, and as much in his power as ever. Waller had earlier intelligence of his majesty's motion, and sent a good body of horse to follow him, and to retard his march, till he could come up: and his horse made such haste, that they found in Burford some of the straggling soldiers, who out of weariness, or for love of drink, had stayed behind their fellows. The earl of Essex followed likewise with his army, and quartered at Chipping Norton; and Waller's horse were as far as Broadway, when the king had reached Evesham; where he intended to rest, as in a secure place; though his garrison at Tewkesbury had been, the night before, surprised by a strong party from Gloucester; the chief officers being killed, and the rest taken prisoners; most of the common soldiers making their escape, and coming to Evesham. But, upon intelligence that both armies followed by strong marches, and it being possible that they might get over the river Avon about Stratford, or some other place, and so get between the king and Worcester, his majesty changed his purpose of staying at Evesham, and presently marched to Worcester, having given order for the breaking of the bridge at Pershore; which was, unwarily, so near done before all the troops were passed, that, by the sudden falling of

an arch, major Bridges, of the prince's regiment, a man of good courage and conduct, with two or three other officers of horse, and about twenty common men, fell unfortunately into the Avon, and were drowned.

The earl of Essex, when he saw the king was got full two days' march before him, and that it was impossible so to overtake him, as to bring him into their power, resolved to pursue him no farther, but to consult what was else to be done; and, to that purpose, called a council of all the principal officers of both armies, to attend him at Burford; where it was resolved, "that Waller, who had the "lighter ordnance, and the less carriages, should "have such an addition of forces, as Massey, the "governor of Gloucester, should be able to furnish "him with; and so should pursue and follow the "king wheresoever he should go; and that the earl "of Essex, who had the greater ordnance, and the "heavier carriages, should prosecute the other "design of relieving Lyme, and reducing the west "to the obedience of the parliament."

Waller opposed this resolution all he could; and urged some order and determination of the committee of both kingdoms in the point; and, "that "the west was assigned to him, as his province, "when the two armies should think fit to sever "from each other." However, Essex gave him positive orders, as his general, "to march accord-"ing to the advice of the council of war;" which he durst not disobey, but sent grievous complaints to the parliament, of the usage he was forced to submit to. And they at Westminster were so incensed against the earl of Essex, that they writ a

very angry and imperious letter to him, in which they reproached him, "for not submitting to the "directions which they had given;" and required him "to follow their former directions, and to "suffer Waller to attend the service of the west." Which letter was brought to him before he had marched above two days westward. But the earl chose rather to answer their letter, than to obey their order; and writ to them, "that their direc- "tions had been contrary to the discipline of war, "and to reason; and that, if he should now return, "it would be a great encouragement to the enemy "in all places;" and subscribed his letter, "Your "innocent, though suspected servant, Essex;" and then prosecuted his resolution, and continued his march for the west.

When Waller found there was no remedy, he obeyed his orders with much diligence and vigour; and prosecuted his march towards Worcester, where his majesty then was; and, in his way, persuaded, rather than forced, the garrison of Sudely-castle, the strong house of the lord Chandois, to deliver up that place to him. The lord of that castle was a young man of spirit and courage; and had for two years served the king very bravely in the head of a regiment of horse, which himself had raised at his own charge; but had lately, out of pure weariness of the fatigue, and having spent most of his money, and without any diminution of his affection, left the king, under pretence of travel; but making London his way, he gave himself up to the pleasures of that place; which he enjoyed, without considering the issue of the war, or shewing any inclination to the parliament; nor did he,

in any degree, contribute to the delivery of his house; which was at first imagined, because it was so ill, or not at all, defended. It was under the government of sir William Morton, a gentleman of the long robe; who, in the beginning of the war, cast off his gown, as many other gallant men of that profession of the law did, and served as lieutenant colonel in the regiment of horse under the lord Chandois; and had given so frequent testimony of signal courage in several actions, in which he had received many wounds, both by the pistol and the sword, that his mettle was never suspected; and his fidelity as little questioned: and after many years of imprisonment, sustained with great firmness and constancy, he lived to receive the reward of his merit, after the return of the king; who made him first a sergeant at law, and afterwards a judge of the king's bench; where he sat many years, and discharged the office with much gravity and learning; and was very terrible to those who chose to live by robbing on the high-way. He was unfortunate, though without fault, in the giving up that castle in so unseasonable a conjuncture; which was done by the faction and artifice of an officer within, who had found means to go out to Waller, and to acquaint him with the great wants of the garrison; which indeed had not plenty of any thing: and so, by the mutiny of the soldiers, it was given up; and the governor made prisoner, and sent to the Tower; where he remained some years after the end of the war. From hence Waller, with great expedition, marched to Evesham; where the evil inhabitants received him willingly; and had, as soon as the king left them,

repaired their bridge over the Avon, to facilitate his coming to them; which he could not else so soon have done.

The king rested some days at Worcester, whereby he very much refreshed his troops, which were there spared from doing duty; and likewise, by the loyalty of that good town, and the affection of the gentry of that county, who retired thither for their security, he procured both shoes and stockings, and money for his soldiers: and then, upon good information, that Waller was marched out of Evesham with his whole army towards Worcester, which he would probably besiege, the king resolved not to be found there; and therefore, having left that city well provided, and in good heart, his majesty removed with his little army to Bewdley, that he might keep the river Severn between him and the enemy; the foot being quartered together at Bewdley, and the horse by the side of the river towards Bridgenorth. The posture in which the king was, made Waller conclude that his majesty intended his course to Shrewsbury, and to the more northern parts. And it is true, that, without any such resolution, orders were sent to Shrewsbury, Bridgenorth, Ludlow, and other garrisons, "that they should make all possible provisions of "corn, and other victual; which they should cause, "in great quantities, to be brought thither;" which confirmed Waller in his former conjecture, and made him advance with his army beyond the king, that he might be nearer Shrewsbury than he. But, God knows, the king was without any other design, than to avoid the enemy; with whom he could not, with such a handful of foot, and without

cannon, propose reasonably to fight a battle: and he had too many good reasons against going to either of those places, or to those parts, which Waller conceived him inclined to; and his majesty might well assume the complaint and expression of king David, "that he *was hunted as a partridge* "*upon the mountains;*" and knew not whither to resort, or to what place to repair for rest.

In this perplexity, it looked like the bounty of Providence, that Waller was advanced so far: upon which, the king took a sudden resolution, to return with all expedition to Worcester, and to make haste to Evesham; where having broke the bridge, and so left the river of Avon at his back, he might be able, by quick marches, to join with that part of his army, which he had left at Oxford; and might thereby be in a condition to fight with Waller, and to prosecute any other design. Upon this good resolution, care was taken for all the boats to come both from Bridgenorth and Worcester, that the foot might, with the more speed and ease, be carried thither; all which succeeded to wish. Insomuch, that the next day, being embarked early in the morning, the foot arrived so soon at Worcester, that they might very well have marched that night to Evesham, but that many of the horse, which were quartered beyond Bewdley towards Bridgenorth, could not possibly march at that rate, nor come up soon enough; so that it was necessary that both horse and foot should remain that night together at Worcester; which they did accordingly.

The next morning, the king found no cause to alter any thing in his former resolution; and received good intelligence, that Waller, without know-

ing any thing of his motion, remained still in his old quarters; whereupon he marched very fast to Evesham; nor would he stay there; but gave order for the horse and foot, without delay, to march through it; after he had provided for the breaking down the bridge, and made the inhabitants of the town pay two hundred pounds, for their alacrity in the reception of Waller; and likewise compelled them to deliver a thousand pair of shoes for the use of the soldiers; which, without any long pause, was submitted to, and performed. Then the army marched that night to Broadway, where they quartered; and very early the next morning, they mounted the hills near Camden; and there they had time to breathe, and to look with pleasure on the places they had passed through; having now left Waller, and the ill ways he must pass, far enough behind; for even in that season of the year, the ways in that vale were very deep.

Now the king sent colonel Fielding, and, lest he might miscarry, (for both from Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Sudely-castle, the enemy had many scouts abroad,) two or three other messengers, to the lords of the council at Oxford, to let them know "of his "happy return;" and that he meant to quarter that night at Burford; and the next at Witney; where he did expect, that all his foot, with their colours and cannon, would meet him; which, with unspeakable joy, they did. So that on Thursday the twentieth of June, which was within seventeen days after he had left Oxford in that disconsolate condition, the king found himself in the head of his army, from which he had been so severed, after so many accidents and melancholic perplexities, to

which majesty has been seldom exposed. Nor can all the circumstances of that peregrination be too particularly and punctually set down. For as they administered much delight after they were passed, and gave them great argument of acknowledging God's good providence in the preservation of the king, and, in a manner, snatching him as a brand out of the fire, and redeeming him even out of the hands of the rebels; so it cannot be ungrateful, or without some pleasure to posterity, to see the most exact relation of an action so full of danger in all respects, and of an escape so remarkable. And now the king thought himself in a posture not only to abide Waller, if he approached towards him, but to follow and find him out, if he had a mind, or did endeavour to decline fighting with his majesty.

In the short time the king had been absent, the garrison at Oxford was not idle. When the king in the spring had prepared for the field, and in order thereunto had drawn out the garrison at Reading, it was thought to no purpose to keep lesser garrisons, at a less distance from Oxford; and thereupon the garrison at Bostal-house, reputed a strong place, upon the edge of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, was appointed to demolish the works and fortifications, and to retire, and join with the army: which was no sooner done, but the garrison at Aylesbury, that had felt the effects of the other's ill neighbourhood, possessed the place, and put a garrison into it; which, after the king had left Oxford, and both the armies of Essex and Waller were gone from before it, gave little less trouble to that city, and obstructed the provisions which should come thither, almost as much as one

of the armies had done. This brought great complaints and clamour from the country, and from the town, to the lords of the council; and was ever made an excuse for their not complying with the commands they sent out, for labourers to work upon the fortifications; which was the principal work in hand; or for any other service of the town. When both armies were drawn off to such a distance in following the king, that there seemed for the present no reasonable apprehension of being besieged, the lords considered of a remedy to apply to this evil from Bostal-house; and receiving encouragement from colonel Gage, (of whom they had a great esteem, and of whom we shall speak shortly more at large,) who offered to undertake the reducing it, they appointed a party of commanded men of the foot, which the king had left there, with three pieces of cannon, and a troop of horse of the town, to obey his orders, who, by the break of day, appeared before the place; and in a short time, with little resistance, got possession of the church, and the outhouses, and then battered the house itself with his cannon; which they within would not long endure; but desired a parley. Upon which the house was rendered, with the ammunition, one piece of ordnance, which was all they had; and much good provision of victual, whereof they had plenty for horse and man; and had liberty given them to go away with their arms and horses; very easy conditions for so strong a post; which was obtained with the loss of one inferior officer, and two or three common men. Here the colonel left a garrison, that did not only defend Oxford from those mischievous incursions, but did very near sup-

port itself, by the contribution it drew from Buckinghamshire, besides the prey it frequently took from the very neighbourhood of Aylesbury.

The earl of Essex, by slow and easy marches, and without any opposition or trouble, entered into Dorsetshire; and by his great civility, and affability towards all men, and the very good discipline in his army, wrought very much upon the people. Insomuch that his forces rather increased than diminished; which had, during his being before Oxford, been much lessened, not only by the numbers which were killed and hurt, but by the running away of many, whilst the sharp encounters continued at Gosworth-bridge. It can hardly be imagined, how great a difference there was in the humour, disposition, and manner of the army under Essex, and the other under Waller, in their behaviour and humanity towards the people; and, consequently, in the reception they found among them; the demeanour and carriage of those under Waller being much more ungentlemanly, and barbarous, than that of the other: besides that the people, in all places, were not without some affection, and even reverence towards the earl, who, as well upon his own account, as the memory of his father, had been always universally popular.

When he came to Blandford, he had a great mind to make himself master of Weymouth, if he could compass it without engaging his army before it; which he resolved not to do; however it was little out of his way to pass near it. Colonel Ashburnham, then governor of Weymouth, was made choice of for that command, upon the opinion of his courage and dexterity; and, to make way for

him, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper had been, the year before, removed from that charge; and was thereby so much disobliged, that he quitted the king's party, and gave himself up, body and soul, to the service of the parliament, with an implacable animosity against the royal interest. The colonel had been intent upon other things, and not enough solicitous to finish the fortifications, which were not strong enough to defy an army, yet too strong to be delivered upon the approach of one. I shall say the less of this matter, because the governor afterwards pressed to have the whole examined before a council of war, where he produced a warrant under the hand of prince Maurice, "that, the town being untenable, he should, upon the advance of the earl of Essex, put a sufficient strength into Portland-castle, and retire thither;" which he had done; and was, by the council of war, absolved from any crime. Yet, the truth is, however absolved, he lost reputation by it; and was thought to have left the town too soon, though he meant to have returned again, after he had visited Portland. But in the mean time the townsmen mutinied, and sent to the earl of Essex when he was near the town; whereupon he came thither; which he would not otherwise have done; and gave the garrison leave to march with their arms to prince Maurice; and so became master of Weymouth; and, leaving men enough out of the country to defend it, without any delay he prosecuted his march to Lyme; from whence prince Maurice, upon the news of the loss of Weymouth, had retired with haste enough towards Exeter, with a body of full five and twenty hundred foot, and eighteen hundred horse; after

he had put a garrison of five hundred men into Wareham, and with some loss of reputation, for having lain so long with such a strength before so vile and untenable a place, without reducing it.

As soon as the king had joined his army at Witney, which now consisted of full five thousand five hundred foot, and very near four thousand horse, with a convenient train of artillery, he resolved no longer to live upon his own quarters, which had been too much wasted by friends and enemies; but to visit the enemy's country; and so, the next day, he marched towards Buckingham, where he would stay and expect Waller, (of whose motion he yet heard nothing,) and from whence, if he appeared not, his majesty might enter into the associated counties, and so proceed northward, if, upon intelligence from thence, he found it reasonable. Whilst the king stayed at Buckingham, and thought himself now in a good condition to fight with the enemy, (his troops every day bringing in store of provisions, and, being now in a country where they were not expected, met with many cart-loads of wine, grocery, and tobacco, which were passing, as in secure roads, from London to Coventry and Warwick; all which were very welcome to Buckingham,) a new and unexpected trouble fell upon him by the ill humour and faction in his own army. Wilmot continued still sullen and perverse, and every day grew more insolent; and had contracted such an animosity against the lord Digby, and the master of the rolls, that he persuaded many officers of the army, especially of the horse, where he was most entirely obeyed, to join in a petition to the king, "that those two counsellors might be ex-

"cluded, and be no more present in councils of "war;" which they promised to do.

Waller remained still in Worcestershire; upon which it was again consulted, what the king was to do. Some proposed "the marching presently into "the associated counties;" others, "to lose no "time in endeavouring to join with prince Rupert." Wilmot, without ever communicating it with the king, positively advised, "that they might pre- "sently march towards London, and, now both "their generals and armies were far from them, "make trial what the true affection of the city was; "and that, when the army was marched as far as "St. Alban's, the king should send such a gracious "message both to the parliament and city, as was "most like to prevail upon them;" and concluded, as if he knew "that this way of proceeding would "be very much approved of by the army." This extravagant motion, with all the circumstances of it, troubled the king very much; yet he thought not fit absolutely to reject it, lest it might promote that petition, which he knew was framing among the officers; but wished them, "that such a message "should be prepared, and then that he would "communicate both that, and what concerned his "march towards London, to the lords of the "council at Oxford; that in so weighty an affair "he might receive their counsel." To that purpose the lord Digby, and the master of the rolls, were sent to Oxford; who, after two days, returned without any approbation of the march, or the message by the lords. But all that intrigue fell of itself, upon the sure intelligence, "that Waller had "left Worcestershire, and marched, with what

" speed he could, to find his majesty;" which gave new argument of debate.

When the king had so dexterously deceived and eluded him by his quick march to and from Worcester, Waller, who had not timely information of it, and less suspected it, thought it not to the purpose to tire his army with long marches in hope to overtake him; but first shewed it at all the walls of Worcester, to terrify that city, which had contemned his power a year before, when it was not so well able to resist it. But he quickly discerned he could do no good there: then he marched towards Gloucester, having sent to colonel Massey to send him some men out of Gloucester; which he, being a creature of Essex's, refused to do. Upon this denial, he marched into Warwickshire; and appointed his rendezvous in Keinton field, the place where the first battle was fought. There he received an addition of seven troops of horse, and about six hundred foot, from Warwick and from Coventry, with eleven pieces of ordnance. With this recruit he marched confidently towards the king; of which his majesty being informed, that he might the sooner meet him, he marched with his army to Brackley, when Waller was near Banbury; and the armies coming shortly in view of each other, upon a fair sunshine in the afternoon, after a very wet morning, both endeavoured to possess a piece of ground they well knew to be of advantage; which being nearer to Waller, and the king passing his whole army through the town of Banbury, before he could come to it, Waller had first his men upon it in good order of battle, before the king could reach thither: so that the king lay that night in

the field, half a mile east of Banbury, the river of Cherwell being between the two armies.

The king resolved to make Waller draw off from that advantage ground, where he had stood two days; and, in order thereunto, marched away, as if he would enter farther into Northamptonshire: and he no sooner moved, but Waller likewise drew off from his ground, and coasted on the other side of the river, but at such a distance, that it was thought he had no mind to be engaged. The van of the king's army was led by the general, and Wilmot: in the body was the king and the prince, and the rear consisted of one thousand commanded foot, under colonel Thelwell, with the earl of Northampton's and the earl of Cleveland's brigades of horse. And, that the enemy might not be able to take any advantage, a party of dragoons was sent to keep Cropredy-bridge, until the army was passed beyond it. The army marching in this order, intelligence was brought to the king, "that there was a body "of three hundred horse within less than two miles "of the van of the army, that marched to join with "Waller; and that they might be easily cut off, if "the army mended their pace." Whereupon, orders were sent to the foremost horse, "that they "should move faster," the van and the middle having the same directions, without any notice given to the rear. Waller quickly discerned the great distance that was suddenly grown between the king's body and his rear, and presently advanced with fifteen hundred horse, one thousand foot, and eleven pieces of cannon, to Cropredy-bridge, which were quickly too strong for the dragoons that were left to keep it, and which made a very faint resist-

ance: so that this party advanced above half a mile, pursuing their design of cutting off the king's rear, before they should be able to get up to the body of the army. To facilitate this execution, he had sent one thousand horse more, to pass over at a ford a mile below Cropredy-bridge, and to fall upon the rear of all. Timely notice being given of this to the earl of Cleveland, who was in the van of that division, and "of the enemy's having passed at "Cropredy," (which was confirmed by the running of the horse, and scattered foot,) "and that there "stood two bodies of horse without moving, and "faced the army:" thereupon the earl presently drew up his brigade to a rising ground that faced that pass, where he discerned a great body of the rebels' horse drawn up, and ready to have fallen upon his rear. It was no time to expect orders; but the earl, led by his own great spirit, charged presently that body with great fury, which sustained it not with equal courage; losing a cornet, and many prisoners.

This alarm had quickly reached the king, who sent to the van to return, and himself drew up those about him, to a little hill beyond the bridge; where he saw the enemy preparing for a second charge upon the earl of Cleveland. The king commanded the lord Bernard Stewart, a valiant young gentleman, who commanded his own guards, "to make "haste to the assistance of the rear; and, in his "way, to charge those two bodies of horse which "faced his majesty." He, with above a hundred of gallant and stout gentlemen, returned instantly over the bridge, and made haste towards those two bodies of horse; who, seeing their fellows routed

by the earl of Cleveland, were then advancing to charge him in the flank, as he was following the execution. But the presence of this troop made them change their mind; and, after a very little stay, accompany their fellows in their flight; which very much facilitated the defeat that quickly ensued.

The earl of Cleveland, after his short encounter, made a stand under a great ash, (where the king had but half an hour before stayed and dined,) not understanding what the enemy could mean by advancing so fast, and then flying so soon; when he perceived a body of their horse of sixteen cornets, and as many colours of foot, placed within the hedges, and all within musket-shot of him, and advancing upon him; which he likewise did upon them with notable vigour; and having stood their musket and carabine shot, he charged them so furiously, being resolutely seconded by all the officers of his brigade, that he routed both horse and foot, and chased them with good execution beyond their cannon: all which, being eleven pieces, were taken; with two barricadoes of wood, which were drawn upon wheels, and in each seven small brass and leather guns, charged with case-shot; most of their cannoneers were killed, and the general of their ordnance taken prisoner. This man, one Weemes, a Scotchman, had been as much obliged by the king, as a man of his condition could be, and in a manner very unpopular: for he was made master gunner of England, with a pension of three hundred pounds *per annum* for his life, (which was looked upon as some disrespect to the English nation,) and having never done the king the least service, he took the first opportunity to disserve him; and

having been engaged against him, from the beginning of the rebellion, he was now preferred by them, for his eminent disloyalty, to be general of the ordnance in the army of sir William Waller; who was very much advised by him in all matters of importance. Besides Weemes, there was taken prisoner Baker, lieutenant colonel to sir William Waller's own regiment, and five or six lieutenant colonels and captains, of as good names as were amongst them; with many lieutenants, ensigns, and cornets, quartermasters; and above one hundred common soldiers; many more being slain in the charge. The earl pursued them as far as the bridge; over which he forced them to retire, in spite of their dragoons, which were placed there to make good their retreat; all which fled with them, or before. And so the earl, having cleared that side of the river, and not knowing how far he was from the army, retired, as he had good reason to do; having lost, in this notable action, two colonels, sir William Boteler, and sir William Clarke, both gentlemen of Kent, of fair fortunes, who had raised and armed their regiments at their own charge, who were both killed dead upon the place, with one captain more of another regiment, and not above fourteen common soldiers.

At the same time, the earl of Northampton discovered that party of the enemy's horse, which had found a passage over the river a mile below, to follow him in the rear; and presently faced about with those regiments of his brigade. Upon which, without enduring the charge, the whole body betook themselves to flight, and got over the pass they had so newly been acquainted with, with

little loss, because they prevented the danger; though many of them, when they were got over, continued their flight so far, as if they were still pursued, that they never returned again to their army. The lord Bernard, with the king's troop, seeing there was no enemy left on that side, drew up in a large field opposite to the bridge; where he stood, whilst the cannon, on the other side, played upon him, until his majesty and the rest of the army passed by them, and drew into a body upon the fields near Wilscot. Waller instantly quitted Cropredy, and drew up his whole army upon the high grounds, which are between Cropredy and Hanwell, opposite to the king's quarters about a mile; the river of Cherwell, and some low grounds, being between both armies; which had a full view of each other.

It was now about three of the clock in the afternoon, the weather very fair, and very warm, (it being the 29th day of June,) and the king's army being now together, his majesty resolved to prosecute his good fortune, and to go to the enemy, since they would not come to him: and, to that purpose, sent two good parties, to make way for him to pass both at Cropredy-bridge, and the other pass a mile below; over which the enemy had so newly passed: both which places were strongly guarded by them. To Cropredy they sent such strong bodies of foot, to relieve each other as they should be pressed, that those sent by the king thither could make no impression upon them; but were repulsed, till the night came, and severed them; all parties being tired with the duty of the day. But they who were sent to the other pass, a

mile below, after a short resistance, gained it, and a hill adjoining; where after they had killed some, they took the rest prisoners; and from thence, did not only defend themselves that and the next day, but did the enemy much hurt; expecting still that their fellows should master the other pass, that so they might advance together.

Here the king was prevailed with to make trial of another expedient. Some men, from the conference they had with the prisoners, others from other intelligence, made no doubt, but that if a message were now sent of grace and pardon to all the officers and soldiers of that army, they would forthwith lay down their arms: and it was very notorious, that multitudes ran every day from thence. How this message should be sent, so that it might be effectually delivered, was the only question that remained: and it was agreed, "that sir "Edward Walker" (who was both garter king at arms, and secretary to the council of war) "should "be sent to publish that his majesty's grace." But he wisely desired, "that a trumpet might be first "sent for a pass;" the barbarity of that people being notorious, that they regarded not the laws of arms, or of nations. Whereupon a trumpet was sent to sir William Waller, to desire "a safe conduct "for a gentleman, who should deliver a gracious "message from his majesty." After two hours' consideration, he returned answer, "that he had no "power to receive any message of grace or favour "from his majesty, without the consent of the two "houses of parliament at Westminster, to whom "his majesty, if he pleased, might make his ad-"dresses." And as soon as the trumpet was gone,

as an evidence of his resolution, he caused above twenty shot of his greatest cannon to be made at the king's army, and as near the place as they could, where his majesty used to be.

When both armies had stood upon the same ground, and in the same posture, for the space of two days, they both drew off to a greater distance from each other; and, from that time, never saw each other. It then quickly appeared, by Waller's still keeping more aloof from the king, and his marching up and down from Buckingham, sometimes towards Northampton, and sometimes towards Warwick, that he was without other design, than of recruiting his army; and that the defeat of that day at Cropredy was much greater, than it then appeared to be; and that it even broke the heart of his army. And it is very probable, that if the king, after he had rested and refreshed his men three or four days, which was very necessary in regard they were exceedingly tired with continual duty, besides that the provisions would not hold longer in the same quarters, had followed Waller, when it was evident he would not follow the king, he might have destroyed that army without fighting: for it appeared afterwards, without its being pursued, that within fourteen days after that action at Cropredy, Waller's army, that before consisted of eight thousand, was so much wasted, that there remained not with him half that number.

But the truth is, from the time that the king discovered that mutinous spirit in the officers, governed by Wilmot, at Buckingham, he was unsatisfied with the temper of his own army, and did not desire a thorough engagement, till he had a

little time to reform some, whom he resolved never more heartily to trust; and to undeceive others, who, he knew, were misled without any malice, or evil intention. But when he now found himself so much at liberty from two great armies, which had so straitly encompassed him, within little more than a month; and that he had, upon the matter, defeated one of them, and reduced it to a state, in which it could, for the present, do him little harm; his heart was at no ease, with apprehension of the terrible fright the queen would be in, (who was newly delivered of a daughter, that was afterwards married to the duke of Orleans,) when she saw the earl of Essex before the walls of Exeter, and should be at the same time informed, that Waller was with another army in pursuit of himself. His majesty resolved therefore, with all possible expedition, to follow the earl of Essex, in hopes that he should be able to fight a battle with him, before Waller should be in a condition to follow him: and his own strength would be much improved, by a conjunction with prince Maurice; who, though he retired before Essex, would be well able, by the north of Devonshire, to meet the king, when he should know that he marched that way.

His majesty had no sooner taken this resolution, than he gave notice of it to the lords of the council at Oxford; and sent an express into the west, to inform the queen of it; who, by the way, carried orders to the lord Hopton, "to draw what men "he could out of Monmouthshire, and South Wales, "into Bristol; that himself might meet his ma- "jesty with as many as he could possibly draw out "of that garrison." So, without any delay, the

whole army, with what expedition was possible, marched towards the west over the Cotswold to Cirencester; and so to Bath; where he arrived on the 15th day of July, and stayed there one whole day, to refresh his army; which stood enough in need of it.

The king had scarce marched two days westward, when he was surprised with terrible news from the north; for, after he had, by an express from Oxford, received intelligence, "that prince "Rupert had not only relieved York, but totally "defeated the Scots, with many particulars to "confirm it," (all which was so much believed there, that they had made public fires of joy for the victory,) he now received quite contrary information, and was too surely convinced, that his whole army was defeated. It was very true, that, after many great and noble actions performed by prince Rupert in the relief of Latham, and the reduction of Bolton, and all other places in that large county, (Manchester only excepted,) in which the rebels lost very many, much blood having been shed in taking places by assault, which were too obstinately defended; the prince had marched out of Lancashire with so good reputation, and had given his orders so effectually to Goring, who lay in Lincolnshire with that body of horse that belonged to the marquis of Newcastle's army, that they happily joined him; and marched together towards York, with such expedition, that the enemy was so surprised, that they found it necessary to raise the siege in confusion enough; and leaving one whole side of the town free, drew to the other side, in great disorder and consternation;

there being irreconcilable differences, and jealousies, between the officers, and, indeed, between the nations: the English resolving to join no more with the Scots, and they, on the other side, as weary of their company and discipline; so that the prince had done his work; and if he had sat still, the other great army would have mouldered to nothing, and been exposed to any advantage his highness would take of them.

But the dismal fate of the kingdom would not permit so much sobriety [of counsel]: one side of the town was no sooner free, by which there was an entire communication with those in the town, and all provision brought in abundantly out of the country, but the prince, without consulting with the marquis of Newcastle, or any of the officers within the town, sent for all the soldiers to draw out, and put the whole army in battalia, on that side where the enemy was drawn up; who had no other hope to preserve them but a present battle, to prevent the reproaches and mutinies which distracted them. And though that party of the king's horse which charged the Scots, so totally routed and defeated their whole army, that they fled all ways for many miles together, and were knocked on the head, and taken prisoners by the country, and Lesley their general fled ten miles, and was taken prisoner by a constable, (from whence the news of the victory was speedily brought to Newark, and thence sent by an express to Oxford; and so received and spread as aforesaid,) yet the English horse, commanded by Fairfax and Cromwell, charged those on that side so well, and in such excellent order, being no sooner broken

than they rallied again, and charged as briskly, that, though both Fairfax and Cromwell were hurt, and both above the shoulders, and many good officers killed, they prevailed over that body of horse which opposed them, and totally routed and beat them off the field; so that almost the whole body of the marquis of Newcastle's foot were cut off.

The marquis himself, and his brave brother, sir Charles Cavendish, (who was a man of the noblest and largest mind, though the least and most inconvenient body that lived,) charged in the head of a troop of gentlemen, who came out of the town with him, with as much gallantry and courage as men could do. But it was so late in the evening before the battle begun, that the night quickly fell upon them; and the generals returned into the town, not enough knowing their own loss, and performing very few compliments to each other. They who most exactly describe that unfortunate battle, and more unfortunate abandoning that whole country, (when there might have been means found to have drawn a good army together,) by prince Rupert's hasty departure with all his troops, and the marquis of Newcastle's as hasty departure to the sea-side, and taking ship, and transporting himself out of the kingdom, and all the ill consequences thereupon, give so ill an account of any conduct, courage, or discretion, in the managery of that affair, that, as I can take no pleasure in the draught of it, so posterity would receive little pleasure, or benefit, in the most particular relation of it.

This may be said of it, that the like was never

done, or heard, or read of before; that two great generals, whereof one had still a good army left, his horse, by their not having performed their duty, remaining upon the matter entire, and much the greater part of his foot having retired into the town, the great execution having fallen upon the northern foot; and the other, having the absolute commission over the northern counties, and very many considerable places in them still remaining under his obedience, should both agree in nothing else, but in leaving that good city, and the whole country, as a prey to the enemy; who had not yet the courage to believe that they had the victory; the Scots having been so totally routed, (as hath been said before,) their general made prisoner by a constable, and detained in custody, till most part of the next day was passed; and most of the officers, and army, having marched, or run above ten miles northward, before they had news that they might securely return: and though the horse under Fairfax and Cromwell had won the day, yet they were both much wounded, and many others of the best officers killed, or so maimed that they could not, in any short time, have done more hurt: so that if there had been any agreement to have concealed their loss, which might have been done to a good degree, (for the enemy was not possessed of the field, but was drawn off at a distance, not knowing what the horse, which had done so little, might do the next day,) there might probably many advantages have appeared, which were not at the instant in view; however, they might both have done that as securely afterwards, as they did then unseasonably.

But neither of them were friends to such deliberation; but, as soon as they were refreshed with a little sleep, they both sent a messenger to each other, almost at the same time; the one, "that "he was resolved, that morning, to march away "with his horse, and as many foot as he had left;" and the other, "that he would, in that instant, "repair to the sea-side, and transport himself "beyond the seas;" both which they immediately performed; the marquis making haste to Scarborough, there embarked in a poor vessel, and arrived at Hamburgh: the prince, with his army, begun his march the same morning towards Chester. And so York was left to the discretion of sir Thomas Glemham, the governor thereof, to do with it as he thought fit; being in a condition only to deliver it up with more decency, not to defend it against an enemy that would require it.

Whereas, if prince Rupert had stayed with the army he marched away with, at any reasonable distance, it would have been long before the jealousies and breaches, which were between the English and Scotch armies, would have been enough composed to have agreed upon the renewing the siege; such great quantities of provision being already brought into the town: and the Scots talked of nothing but returning into their own country, where the marquis of Mountrose had kindled already a fire, which the parliament of Edinburgh could not quench. But the certain intelligence, "that the "prince was marched away without thought of "returning, and that the marquis had embarked "himself," reconciled them so far, (and nothing

else could,) that, after two days, they returned to the posts they had before had in the siege; and so straitened the town, that the governor, when he had no hope of relief, within a fortnight was compelled to deliver it up, upon as good articles for the town, and the gentry that were in it, and for himself, and the few soldiers he had left, as he could propose: and so he marched with all his troops to Carlisle; which he afterwards defended with very remarkable circumstances of courage, industry, and patience.

The times afterwards grew so bad, and the king's affairs succeeded so ill, that there was no opportunity to call either of those two great persons to account for what they had done, or what they had left undone. Nor did either of them ever think fit to make any particular relation of the grounds of their proceeding, or the causes of their misadventures, by way of excuse to the king, or for their own vindication. Prince Rupert, only to his friends, and after the murder of the king, produced a letter in the king's own hand, which he received when he was upon his march from Lancashire towards York; in which his majesty said, "that his affairs were in so very ill a state, "that it would not be enough, though his highness "raised the siege from York, if he had not likewise "beaten the Scotch army;" which he understood "to amount to no less than a peremptory order to "fight, upon what disadvantage soever:" and added, "that the disadvantage was so great, the "enemy being so much superior in number, it was "no wonder he lost the day." But as the king's letter would not bear that sense, so the greatest

cause of the misfortune was the precipitate entering upon the battle, as soon as the enemy drew off; and without consulting at all with the marquis of Newcastle, and his officers; who must needs know more of the enemy, and consequently how they were best to be dealt with, than his highness could do. For he saw not the marquis, till, upon his summons, he came into the field, in the head of a troop of gentlemen, as a private captain, when the battle was ranged; and which, after a very short salutation, immediately begun; those of the marquis's army, who came out of the town, being placed upon the ground left by the prince, and assigned to them; which much indisposed both officers and soldiers to the work in hand, and towards those with whom they were to join in it.

Then it was too late in the day to begin the fight, if all the other ill circumstances had been away; for it was past three in the afternoon: whereas, if it had been deferred till next morning, in which time a full consultation might have been had, and the officers and soldiers grown a little acquainted with each other, better success might have been reasonably expected; nor would the confusion and consternation the other armies were then in, which was the only excuse for the present engagement, have been the less; but, on the contrary, very much improved by the delay; for the bitterness and animosity between the chief commanders was such, that a great part of the army was marched six miles, when it appeared, by the prince's manner of drawing his army together to that ground, that his resolution was to fight: the

speedy intelligence whereof prevailed, and nothing else could, with those who were gone so far, to return; and with the rest, to unite and concur in an action, that, in human reason, could only preserve them; and if that opportunity had not then been so unhappily offered, it was generally believed that the Scots would, the next morning, have continued their march northward; and the earl of Manchester would have been necessitated to have made his retreat, as well as he could, into his associated counties; and it would have been in the prince's power to have chosen which of them he would have destroyed.

But then of all the rest, his going away the next morning with all his troops, in that manner, was most unexcusable; because most prejudicial, and most ruinous to the king's affairs in those parts. Nor did those troops ever after bring any considerable advantage to the king's service, but mouldered away by degrees, and the officers, whereof many were gentlemen of quality and great merit, were killed upon beating up of quarters, and little actions not worth their presence. The truth is, the prince had some secret intimation of the marquis's purpose of immediately leaving the town, and embarking himself for the parts beyond the seas, before the marquis himself sent him word of it; upon which, in great passion and rage, he sent him notice of his resolution presently to be gone, that he who had the command of all those parts, and thereby an obligation not to desert his charge, might be without any imagination that the prince would take such a distracted government upon him, and leave him any excuse for his departure: and if in this joint dis-

temper, with which they were both transported, any persons of discretion and honour had interposed, they might, in all probability, have prevailed with both, for a good understanding between them, or at least for the suspension of their present resolutions, and considering what might best be done. But they both resolved so soon, and so soon executed what they resolved, that very few had the least suspicion of their intentions, till they were both out of distance to have their conversion attempted.

All that can be said for the marquis is, that he was so utterly tired with a condition and employment so contrary to his humour, nature, and education, that he did not at all consider the means, or the way, that would let him out of it, and free him for ever from having more to do with it. And it was a greater wonder, that he sustained the vexation and fatigue of it so long, than that he broke from it with so little circumspection. He was a very fine gentleman, active, and full of courage, and most accomplished in those qualities of horsemanship, dancing, and fencing, which accompany a good breeding; in which his delight was. Besides that he was amorous in poetry and music, to which he indulged the greatest part of his time; and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure, which he enjoyed in a full and ample fortune, but honour and ambition to serve the king when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him, and by him. He loved monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness; and the church, as it was well constituted for the splendour and security of the crown; and religion,

as it cherished and maintained that order and obedience that was necessary to both; without any other passion for the particular opinions which were grown up in it, and distinguished it into parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the public peace.

He had a particular reverence for the person of the king, and the more extraordinary devotion for that of the prince, as he had had the honour to be trusted with his education as his governor; for which office, as he excelled in some, so he wanted other qualifications. Though he had retired from his great trust, and from the court, to decline the insupportable envy which the powerful faction had contracted against him, yet the king was no sooner necessitated to possess himself of some place of strength, and to raise some force for his defence, but the earl of Newcastle (he was made marquis afterwards) obeyed his first call; and, with great expedition and dexterity, seized upon that town; when till then there was not one port town in England that avowed their obedience to the king: and he then presently raised such regiments of horse and foot, as were necessary for the present state of affairs; all which was done purely by his own interest, and the concurrence of his numerous allies in those northern parts; who with all alacrity obeyed his commands, without any charge to the king; which he was not able to supply.

And after the battle of Edge-hill, when the rebels grew so strong in Yorkshire, by the influence their garrison of Hull had upon both the East and West Riding there, that it behoved the king presently to make a general, who might unite all those northern

counties in his service, he could not choose any man so fit for it, as the earl of Newcastle, who was not only possessed of a present force, and of that important town, but had a greater reputation and interest in Yorkshire itself, than, at that present, any other man had: the earl of Cumberland being at that time, though of entire affection to the king, much decayed in the vigour of his body and his mind, and unfit for that activity which the season required. And it cannot be denied, that the earl of Newcastle, by his quick march with his troops, as soon as he had received his commission to be general, and in the depth of winter, redeemed, or rescued the city of York from the rebels, when they looked upon it as their own, and had it even within their grasp: and as soon as he was master of it, he raised men apace, and drew an army together, with which he fought many battles, in which he had always (this last only excepted) success and victory.

He liked the pomp and absolute authority of a general well, and preserved the dignity of it to the full; and for the discharge of the outward state, and circumstances of it, in acts of courtesy, affability, bounty, and generosity, he abounded; which, in the infancy of a war, became him, and made him, for some time, very acceptable to men of all conditions. But the substantial part, and fatigue of a general, he did not in any degree understand, (being utterly unacquainted with war,) nor could submit to; but referred all matters of that nature to the discretion of his lieutenant general King; who, no doubt, was an officer of great experience and ability, yet, being a Scotchman, was in that

conjuncture upon more disadvantage than he would have been, if the general himself had been more intent upon his command. In all actions of the field he was still present, and never absent in any battle; in all which he gave instances of an invincible courage and fearlessness in danger; in which the exposing himself notoriously did sometimes change the fortune of the day, when his troops began to give ground. Such articles of action were no sooner over, than he retired to his delightful company, music, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon what occasion soever; insomuch as he sometimes denied admission to the chiefest officers of the army, even to general King himself, for two days together; from whence many inconveniences fell out.

From the beginning, he was without any reverence or regard for the privy-council, with few of whom he had any acquaintance; but was of the other soldiers' mind, that all the business ought to be done by councils of war, and was always angry when there were any overtures of a treaty; and therefore, especially after the queen had landed in Yorkshire, and stayed so long there, he considered any orders he received from Oxford, though from the king himself, more negligently than he ought to have done; and when he thought himself sure of Hull, and was sure that he should be then master entirely of all the north, he had no mind to march nearer the king, (as he had then orders to march into the associated counties, when, upon the taking of Bristol, his majesty had a purpose to have marched towards London on the other side,) out

of apprehension that he should be eclipsed by the court, and his authority overshadowed by the superiority of prince Rupert; from whom he desired to be at distance: yet when he found himself in distress, and necessitated to draw his army within the walls of York, and saw no way to be relieved but by prince Rupert, who had then done great feats of arms in the relief of Newark, and afterwards in his expedition into Lancashire, where he was at that time, he writ to the king to Oxford, either upon the knowledge that the absoluteness and illimitedness of his commission was generally much spoken of, or out of the conscience of some discourse of his own to that purpose; which might have been reported; "that he hoped his majesty did believe, "that he would never make the least scruple to "obey the grandchild of king James:" and assuredly, if the prince had cultivated the good inclinations the marquis had towards him, with any civil and gracious condescensions, he would have found him full of duty and regard to his service and interest.

But the strange manner of the prince's coming, and undeliberated throwing himself, and all the king's hopes, into that sudden and unnecessary engagement, by which all the force the marquis had raised, and with so many difficulties preserved, was in a moment cast away and destroyed, so transported him with passion and despair, that he could not compose himself to think of beginning the work again, and involving himself in the same undelightful condition of life, from which he might now be free. He hoped his past meritorious actions might outweigh his present abandoning the thought of

future action; and so, without farther consideration, as hath been said, he transported himself out of the kingdom, and took with him general King; upon whom they, who were content to spare the marquis, poured out all the reproaches of "infidelity, treason, "and conjunction with his countrymen;" which, without doubt, was the effect of the universal discontent, and the miserable condition to which the people of those northern parts were on the sudden reduced, without the least foundation, or ground for any such reproach: and as he had, throughout the whole course of his life, been generally reputed a man of honour, and had exercised the highest commands under the king of Sweden with extraordinary ability and success, so he had been prosecuted by some of his countrymen with the highest malice, from his very coming into the king's service; and the same malice pursued him after he had left the kingdom, even to his death.

The loss of England came so soon to be lamented, that the loss of York, or the too soon deserting the northern parts, were comparatively no more spoken of; and the constant and noble behaviour of the marquis in the change of his fortune, and his cheerful submission to all the straits, necessities, and discomforts, which are inseparable from banishment, without the least application to the usurpers, who were possessed of his whole estate, and upon which they committed all imaginable and irreparable waste, in destroying all his woods of very great value, and who were still equally abhorred and despised by him; with his readiness and alacrity again to have embarked himself in the king's quarrel, upon the first reasonable occasion, so perfectly reconciled all

good men to him, that they rather observed what he had done and suffered for the king and for his country, without farther inquiring what he had omitted to do, or been overseen in doing.

This fatal blow, which so much changed the king's condition, that till then was very hopeful, made not such an impression upon his majesty, but that it made him pursue his former resolution, to follow the earl of Essex, with the more impatience; having now in truth nothing else to do. But being informed that the earl of Essex had not made any long marches, and that the queen, upon the first news of the earl's drawing near, though she had been little more than a fortnight delivered, had left Exeter, and was removed into Cornwall, from whence, in a short time, her majesty embarked for France, (the prince of Orange having sent some Dutch ships of war to attend the queen's commands in the harbour of Falmouth; and from thence her majesty transported herself,) his majesty marched more slowly, that he might increase his army from Bristol, and other places; and making no doubt, but that he should be able to engage the army of the earl of Essex, who was already near Exeter, before he should be able to return to London; and prince Maurice, who had waited near two years without taking Lyme or Plymouth, the former of which was a little vile fishing town, defended by a small dry ditch, was already withdrawn into Cornwall, having lost much reputation in those parts by his unsuccessful attempts.

The earl of Essex's good fortune now began to decline: and he had not proceeded with his accustomed wariness and skill, but run into labyrinths,

from whence he could not disentangle himself. When he had marched to the length of Exeter, which he had some thought of besieging, without any imagination that he could find an enemy to contend with him, having left the king in so ill a condition, and sir William Waller with so good an army waiting upon him, he received the news of the "defeat sir William Waller [had] received; "and that the king was come with his whole army "into the west in pursuit of him, without being "followed by Waller, or any troops to disquiet or "retard his march;" which exceedingly surprised him, and made him suspect that the parliament itself had betrayed him, and conspired his ruin.

And the jealousies were now indeed grown very great between them; the parliament looking upon his march into the west, and leaving Waller, to whom they intended the other province, to follow the king, but as a declaration that he would no more fight against the person of the king; and the earl, on the other side, had well observed the difference betwixt the care and affection the parliament expressed for and towards his army, and the other under the command of the earl of Manchester; which they set so great a price upon, that he thought they would not so much care what became of his. Otherwise, it could not be possible, that, upon so little a brush as Waller had sustained, he could not be able to follow and disturb the king, in a country so enclosed, as he must pass through. In this unexpected strait, upon the first reception of the news, he resolved to return back, and meet and fight with the king, either before he entered Devonshire, or else in Somersetshire; in either of

which places he could not be straitened in room, or provisions, or be compelled to fight in a place disadvantageous, or when he had no mind to it; and if he had pursued this resolution, he had done prudently. But the lord Roberts, who was a general officer in his army, of an unsociable nature, and impetuous disposition, full of contradiction in his temper, and of parts so much superior to any in the company, that he could too well maintain and justify all those contradictions, positively opposed the return of the army; but pressed, with his confidence, "that the army should continue its march "to Cornwall;" where he undertook to have so great interest, that he made no question, "but the "presence of the earl of Essex, with his army, "would so unite that whole county to the parlia- "ment's service, that it would be easy to defend "the passes into the whole county (which are not "many) in such a manner, that the king's army "should never be able to enter into Cornwall, nor "to retire out of Devonshire without great loss, "nor before the parliament would send more forces "upon their backs."

The lord Roberts, though inferior in the army, had much greater credit in the parliament than the earl of Essex; and the earl did not think him very kind to him, he being then in great conjunction with sir Harry Vane, whom of all men the earl hated, and looked upon as an enemy. He had never been in Cornwall; and so knew not the situation of the country: and some of the officers, and many others of that country, (as there were with him four or five gentlemen of that country of interest,) concurred fully with the lord Roberts, and

promised great matters, if the army marched thither: whereupon the earl departed from his own understanding, and complied with their advice; and so marched the direct way with all his army, horse, foot, and cannon, into that narrow county; and pursued prince Maurice and those forces, which easily retired, westward; until he found himself in straits; where we shall leave him for the present.

After the king had made a small stay at Exeter, where he found his young daughter, of whom the queen had been so lately delivered, under the care and government of the lady Dalkeith, (shortly after countess of Morton by the death of her husband's father,) who had been long before designed by both their majesties to that charge; and having a little refreshed and accommodated his troops, he marched directly to Cornwall; where he found the earl of Essex in such a part of the country on the sea-side, that he quickly, by the general conflux and concurrence of the whole people, upon which the earl had been persuaded so much to depend, found means, with very little fighting, so to straiten his quarters, that there seemed little appearance that he could possibly march away with his army, or compel the king to fight. He was, upon the matter, enclosed in and about Foy; whilst the king lay encamped about Liskard; and no day passed without some skirmishes; in which the earl was more distressed, and many of his considerable officers taken prisoners. And here there happened an accident, that might very well have turned the king's fortune, and deprived him of all the advantages which were in view. The king being always in the army himself, all matters were still debated before

him, in the presence of those counsellors who were about him; who, being men of better understandings and better expressions, commonly disposed his majesty to their opinions, at least kept him from concurring in every thing which was proposed by the officers. The counsellors, as hath been said before, were the lord Digby, secretary of state, and sir John Colepepper, master of the rolls, of whose judgment the king had more esteem, even with reference to the war, than of most of the officers of the army; which raised an implacable animosity in the whole army against them.

General Ruthen, who by this time was created earl of Brentford, was general of the army; but, as hath been said, both by reason of his age, and his extreme deafness, was not a man of counsel or words; hardly conceived what was proposed, and as confusedly and obscurely delivered his opinion; and could indeed better judge by his eye than his ear; and in the field well knew what was to be done. Wilmot was lieutenant general of the horse, and at this time the second officer of the army, and had much more credit and authority in it, than any man; which he had not employed to the king's advantage, as his majesty believed. He was a man proud and ambitious, and incapable of being contented; an ordinary officer in marches, and governing his troops. He drank hard, and had a great power over all who did so, which was a great people. He had a more companionable wit even than his rival Goring, and swayed more among the good fellows, and could by no means endure that the lord Digby and sir John Colepepper should have so much credit with the king in councils of war.

The king had no kindness for him upon an old account, as remembering the part he had acted against the earl of Strafford: however, he had been induced, upon the accidents which happened afterwards, to repose trust in him; and this he knew well enough; and foresaw, that he should be quickly overshadowed in the war; and therefore desired to get out of it, by a seasonable peace; and so, in all his discourses, urged the necessity of it, as he had begun in Buckinghamshire; and, "that "the king ought to send propositions to the par- "liament, in order to obtaining it;" and in this march had prosecuted his former design by several cabals among the officers; and disposed them to petition the king, "to send to the parliament again "an offer of peace; and that the lord Digby and "sir John Colepepper might not be permitted to "be present in councils of war;" implying, "that "if this might not be granted, they would think of "some other way." Which petition, though, by the wisdom of some officers, it was kept from being delivered, yet so provoked the king, that he resolved to take the first opportunity to free himself from his impetuous humour; in which good disposition the lord Digby ceased not to confirm his majesty; and as soon as the news came of the northern defeat, and that the marquis of Newcastle had left the kingdom, he prevailed that Goring might be sent for to attend his majesty; who then proposed to himself to make his nephew prince Rupert general of the army, and Goring general of the horse; which Wilmot could not avowedly have excepted against, the other having been always superior to him in command; and yet would be

such a mortification to him, as he would never have been able to digest.

Whether his apprehensions of this, as his jealous nature had much of sagacity in it, or his restless and mutinous humour, transported him, but he gave not the king time to prosecute that gracious method; but even forced him to a quicker and a rougher remedy: for during the whole march, he discoursed in all places, "that the king must send "to the earl of Essex to invite him to a conjunc-"tion with him, that so the parliament might be "obliged to consent to a peace; and pretended, "that he had so good intelligence in that army, as "to know that such an invitation would prove "effectual, and be acceptable to the earl; who, he "knew, was unsatisfied with the parliament's be-"haviour towards him:" and he was so indiscreet, as to desire a gentleman, with whom he had no intimacy, and who had a pass to go beyond the seas, and must go through the earl's quarters, "that he would remember his service to the earl "of Essex; and assure him, that the army so "much desired peace, that it should not be in the "power of any of those persons about the king to "hinder it, if his lordship would treat upon any "reasonable propositions." All which kind of carriage and discourses were quickly represented, in their full magnitude, to the king, by the lord Digby; and his majesty's own aversion kindled any spark into a formed distrust. So that after the king came into Cornwall, and had his whole army drawn up on the top of the hill, in view of the earl of Essex, who was in the bottom, and a battle expected every day, upon some new dis-

course Wilmot made out of pride and vanity, (for there was not, in all the former, the least formed act of sedition in his heart,) the knight marshal, with the assistance of Tom Elliot, who acted the part, arrested him in the king's name of high treason; and dismounted him from his horse in the head of all the troops; and putting a guard upon him, he was presently sent prisoner to Exeter, without any other ill effect, which might very reasonably have been apprehended in such a conjuncture, when he was indeed generally well beloved, and none of them for whose sakes he was thought to be sacrificed, were at all esteemed: yet, I say, there were no other ill effects of it than a little murmur, which vapoured away.

The same day that Wilmot was arrested, the king removed another general officer of his army, the lord Percy; who had been made general of the ordnance upon very partial, and not enough deliberated considerations; and put into that office the lord Hopton; whose promotion was universally approved; the one having no friend, and the other being universally beloved. Besides, the lord Percy (who was the first that had been created a baron at Oxford upon the queen's intercession; which obliged the king to bestow the same honour on more men) had been as much inclined to mutiny as the lord Wilmot; and was much a bolder speaker, and had none of those faculties, which the other had, of reconciling men to him. Yet even his removal added to the ill humour of the army, too much disposed to discontent, and censuring all that was done: for though he was generally unloved, as a proud and supercilious

person, yet he had always three or four persons of good credit and reputation, who were esteemed by him, with whom he lived very well; and though he did not draw the good fellows to him by drinking, yet he eat well; which, in the general scarcity of that time, drew many votaries to him; who bore very ill the want of his table, and so were not without some inclination to murmur even on his behalf.

The very next day after these removals, colonel Goring appeared; who had waited upon the king the night before at his quarters, with letters from prince Rupert: and then the army being drawn up, his majesty, attended by the principal officers of the army, rode to every division of the horse, and there declared, "that, at the request of his nephew "prince Rupert, and upon his resignation, he made "Mr. Goring general of the horse; and com- "manded them all to obey him; and for the lord "Wilmot, although he had, for very good reasons, "justly restrained him for the present, yet he had "not taken away from him his command in the "army;" which declaration visibly raised the countenance of the body of horse, more than the king was pleased with observing: and the very next day the greatest part of the officers delivered a petition, "that his majesty would give them so "much light of the lord Wilmot's crimes, that "they might see that themselves were not sus- "pected, who had so long obeyed and executed "his orders;" which is manifestation enough of the ill disposition the army was in, when they were even in view of the enemy, and of which the king had so much apprehension, in respect of the

present posture he was in, that he was too easily persuaded to give them a draught of the articles, by which he was charged: which though they contained so many indiscretions, vanities, and insolencies, that wise and dispassionate men thought he had been proceeded with very justly, yet generally they seemed not to make him so very black, as he had been represented to be; and when the articles were sent to him, he returned so specious an answer to them, that made many men think he had been prosecuted with severity enough. Yet Wilmot himself, when he saw his old mortal enemy Goring put in the command over him, thought himself incapable of reparation, or a full vindication; and therefore desired leave to retire into France; and had presently a pass sent him to that purpose; of which he made use as soon as he received it; and so transported himself out of the kingdom; which opened the mouths of many, and made it believed, that he had been sacrificed to some faction and intrigue of the court, without any such misdemeanour as deserved it.

The king had, some days before this, found an opportunity to make a trial whether the earl of Essex, from the notorious indignities which he received from the parliament, and which were visible to all the world, or from the present ill condition which he and his army were reduced to, might be induced to make a conjunction with his majesty. The lord Beauchamp, eldest son to the marquis of Hertford, desired, for the recovery of his health, not then good, to transport himself into France; and to that purpose had a pass from his uncle, the earl of Essex, for himself; monsieur

Richaute a Frenchman, who had been his governor; and two servants, to embark at Plymouth; and being now with the king, it was necessary to pass through the earl's quarters. By him the king vouchsafed to write a letter with his own hand to the earl, in which he told him,

"How much it was in his power to restore that "peace to the kingdom, which he had professed "always to desire; and upon such conditions, as "did fully comply with all those ends for which "the parliament had first taken up arms: for his "majesty was still ready to satisfy all those ends: "but that since the invasion of the kingdom by the "Scots, all his overtures of peace had been re-"jected; which must prove the destruction of the "kingdom, if he did not, with his authority and "power, dispose those at Westminster to accept of "a peace that might preserve it;" with all those arguments, that might most reasonably persuade to a conjunction with his majesty, and such gracious expressions of the sense he would always retain of the service and merit, as were most likely to invite him to it. The king desired, that a pass might be procured for Mr. Harding, one of the grooms of the bedchamber to the prince, a gentleman who had been before of much conversation with the earl, and much loved by him; and the procuring this pass was recommended to monsieur Richaute.

The earl received his nephew very kindly; who delivered the king's letter to him, which he received and read; and being then told by the lord Beauchamp, that monsieur Richaute, who was very well known to him, had somewhat to say to him

from the king; the earl called him into his chamber, in the presence only of the lord Beauchamp, and asked him, "if he had any thing to say to "him." Richaute told him, "that his principal "business was to desire his permission and pass, "that Mr. Harding might come to him, who had "many things to offer, which, he presumed, would "not be unacceptable to him." The earl answered in short, "that he would not permit Mr. Harding "to come to him, nor would he have any treaty "with the king, having received no warrant for it "from the parliament:" upon which, Richaute enlarged himself upon some particulars, which Mr. Harding was to have urged, "of the king's desire "of peace, of the concurrence of all the lords, as "well those at Oxford, as in the army, in the same "desire of preserving the kingdom from a conquest "by the Scots;" and other discourse to that purpose; "and of the king's readiness to give him "any security for the performance of all he had "promised." To all which the earl answered sullenly, "that, according to the commission he had "received, he would defend the king's person and "posterity; and that the best counsel he could "give him was, to go to his parliament."

As soon as the king received this account of his letter, and saw there was nothing to be expected by those addresses, he resolved to push it on the other way, and to fight with the enemy as soon as was possible; and so, the next day, drew up all his army in sight of the enemy; and had many skirmishes between the horse of both armies, till the enemy quitted that part of a large heath upon which they stood, and retired to a hill near the park of the lord

Mohun, at Boconnocke; they having the possession of his house, where they quartered conveniently. That night both armies, after they had well viewed each other, lay in the field; and many are of opinion, that if the king had that day vigorously advanced upon the enemy, to which his army was well inclined, though upon some disadvantage of ground, they would have been easily defeated: for the king's army was in good heart, and willing to engage; on the contrary, the earl's seemed much surprised, and in confusion, to see the other army so near them. But such censures always attend such conjunctures, and find fault for what is not done, as well as with that which is done.

The next morning the king called a council, to consider whether they should that day compel the enemy to fight; which was concluded not to be reasonable; and that it was better to expect the arrival of sir Richard Greenvil; who was yet in the west of Cornwall, and had a body of eight thousand horse and foot, as was reported, though they were not near that number. It was hereupon ordered, that all the foot should be presently drawn into the enclosures between Boconnocke and the heath; all the fences to the grounds of that country being very good breastworks against the enemy. The king's head quarter was made at the lord Mohun's house, which the earl of Essex had kindly quitted, when the king's army advanced the day before. The horse were quartered, for the most part, between Liskeard and the sea; and every day compelled the earl's forces to retire, and to lodge close together; and in this posture both

armies lay within view of each other for three or four days. In this time, that inconvenient spirit, that had possessed so many of the horse officers, appeared again; and some of them, who had conferred with the prisoners, who were every day taken, and some of them officers of as good quality as any they had, were persuaded by them, "that "all the obstinacy in Essex, in refusing to treat "with the king, proceeded only from his jealousy, "that when the king had got him into his hands, "he would take revenge upon him for all the mis- "chief he had sustained by him; and that if he "had any assurance that what was promised would "be complied with, he would be quickly induced "to treat."

Upon this excellent evidence, these politic contrivers presumed to prepare a letter, that should be subscribed by the general, and all the superior officers of the army; the beginning of which letter was, "that they had obtained leave of the "king to send that letter to him." There they proposed, "that he with six officers, whom he should "choose, would the next morning meet with their "general, and six other officers, as should be ap- "pointed to attend him; and if he would not him- "self be present, that then six officers of the king's "army should meet with six such as he should "appoint, at any place that should be thought fit; "and that they, and every of them, who subscribed "the letter, would, upon the honour and reputation "of gentlemen and soldiers, with their lives main- "tain that whatsoever his majesty should promise, "should be performed; and that it should not be

" in the power of any private person whatsoever, " to interrupt or hinder the execution thereof." When they had framed this letter between themselves, and shewed it to many others, whose approbation they received, they resolved to present it to the king, and humbly to desire his permission that it might be sent to the earl of Essex.

How unpardonable soever the presumption and insolence in contriving and framing this letter was, and how penal soever it might justly have been to them, yet, when it was presented to his majesty, many who liked not the manner of it, were persuaded by what they were told, that it might do good; and in the end they prevailed with the king to consent that the officers should sign it; and that the general should send a trumpet with it; his majesty at the same time concluding, that it would find no better reception than his own letter had done; and likewise believing, that the rejecting of it would purge that unruly spirit out of his army, and that he should never more be troubled with those vexatious addresses, and that it might add some spirit and animosity to the officers and soldiers, when they should see, with how much neglect and contempt the earl received their application: and so prince Maurice, general Goring, and all the superior officers of the army, signed the letter; which a trumpet delivered to the earl of Essex; who, the next day, returned his answer to them in these words: " My lords, in the beginning " of your letter you express by what authority you " send it; I having no authority from the parlia-

"ment, who have employed me, to treat, cannot "give way to it without breach of trust. My "lords, I am your humble servant, Essex. Listithiel, "Aug. 10. 1644." This short surly answer produced the effect the king wished and expected; they who had been so over active in contriving the address, were most ashamed of their folly; and the whole army seemed well composed to obtain that by their swords, which they could not by their pen.

Sir Richard Greenvil was now come up to the post where he should be; and, at Bodmin, in his march, had fallen upon a party of the earl's horse, and killed many, and taken others prisoners, and presented himself to the king at Boconnocke; giving his majesty an account of his proceedings, and a particular of his forces; which, after all the high discourses, amounted really but to eighteen hundred foot, and six hundred horse; above one hundred of which were of the queen's troop, (left behind when her majesty embarked for France,) under the command of captain Edward Bret; who had done very good service in the western parts of that county, from the time of the queen's departure, and much confirmed the trained bands of those parts. This troop was presently added to the king's guards under the lord Bernard Stewart, and captain Bret was made major of that regiment.

Though the earl of Essex had but strait and narrow room for his quarters for so great an army of horse and foot, yet he had the good town of Foy and the sea to friend; by which he might reasonably assure himself of store of provisions, the parliament ships having all the jurisdiction there; and so, if he preserved his post, which was so

situated that he could not be compelled to fight without giving him great advantage, he might well conclude, that Waller, or some other force sent from the parliament, would be shortly upon the king's back, as his majesty was upon his: and no question, this rational confidence was a great motive to him to neglect all overtures made to him by the king; besides the punctuality and stubbornness of his own nature; which whosoever was well acquainted with, might easily have foreseen, what effect all those applications would have produced. It was therefore now resolved to make his quarters yet straiter, and to cut off even his provisions by sea, or a good part thereof. To which purpose sir Richard Greenvil drew his men from Bodmin, and possessed himself of Lanhetherick, a strong house of the lord Roberts, two miles west of Boconnocke, and over the river that runs to Listithiel, and thence to Foy, and likewise to Reprime Bridge; by which the enemy was not only deprived of that useful outlet, but a safe communication made between him and the king's army, which was before interrupted. And on the other side, which was of more importance, sir Jacob Ashley, with a good party of horse and foot, made himself master of View-Hall, another house of the lord Mohun's, over against Foy, and of Pernon Fort, a mile below it, at the mouth of the haven; both which places he found so tenable, that he put captain Page into one, and captain Garraway into the other, with two hundred commanded men, and two or three pieces of ordnance; which these two captains made good, and defended so well, that they made Foy utterly useless to Essex, save for the quartering

his men; not suffering any provisions to be brought in to him from the sea that way. And it was exceedingly wondered at by all men, that he, being so long possessed of Foy, did not put strong guards into those places; by which he might have prevented his army's being brought into those extreme necessities they shortly after fell into; which might easily be foreseen, and as easily, that way, have been prevented.

Now the king had leisure to sit still, and warily to expect what invention or stratagem the earl would make use of, to make some attempt upon his army, or to make his own escape. In this posture both armies lay still, without any notable action, for the space of eight or ten days; when the king, seeing no better fruit from all that was hitherto done, resolved to draw his whole army together, and to make his own quarters yet much nearer, and either to force Essex to fight, or to be uneasy even in his quarters. And it was high time to do so: for it was now certain, that either Waller himself, or some other forces, were already upon their march towards the west. With this resolution the whole army advanced in such a manner, that the enemy was compelled still to retire before them, and to quit their quarters; and, among the rest, a rising ground called Beacon-Hill; which they no sooner quitted, than the king possessed; and immediately caused a square work to be there raised, and a battery made, upon which some pieces of cannon were planted, that shot into their quarters, and did them great hurt; when their cannon, though they returned twenty shot for one, did very little or no harm.

And now the king's forces had a full prospect over all the other's quarters; saw how all their foot and horse were disposed, and from whence they received all their forage and provisions: which when clearly viewed and observed, Goring was sent with the greatest part of the horse, and fifteen hundred foot, a little westward to St. Blase, to drive the enemy yet closer together, and to cut off the provisions they received from thence; which was so well executed, that they did not only possess themselves of St. Austel, and the westerly part of St. Blase, (so that the enemy's horse was reduced to that small extent of earth that is between the river of Foy and that at Blase, which is not above two miles in breadth, and little more in length; in which they had for the most part fed since they came to Listithiel, and therefore it could not now long supply them,) but likewise were masters of the Parr near St. Blase; whereby they deprived them of the chief place of landing the provisions which came by sea. And now the earl begun to be very sensible of the ill condition he was in, and discerned that he should not be able long to remain in that posture; besides, he had received advertisement that the party which was sent for his relief from London, had received some brush in Somersetshire, which would much retard their march; and therefore it behoved him to enter upon new counsels, and to take new resolutions.

It is very true the defeat at Cropredy (in which there did not appear to be one thousand men killed, or taken prisoners) had so totally broken Waller's army, that it could never be brought to fight after:

but when he had marched at a distance from the king, to recover the broken spirits of his men, and heard that his majesty was marched directly towards the west, observing likewise that every night very many of his men run from him, he thought it necessary to go himself to London, where he made grievous complaints against the earl of Essex, as if he had purposely exposed him to be affronted; all which was greedily hearkened to, and his person received, and treated, as if he had returned victorious after having defeated the king's army: which was a method very contrary to what was used in the king's quarters, where all accidental misfortunes, how inevitable soever, were still attended with very apparent discountenance.

But when he went himself to London, or presently upon it, he sent his lieutenant general Middleton (a person of whom we shall say much hereafter, and who lived to wipe out the memory of the ill footsteps of his youth; for he was but eighteen years of age when he was first led into rebellion) with a body of three thousand horse and dragoons, to follow the king into the west, and to wait upon his rear, with orders to reduce in his way Donnington-castle, the house of a private gentleman near Newbury, in which there were a company or two of foot of the king's; and which they believed would be delivered up as soon as demanded; being a place, as they thought, of little strength. But Middleton found it so well defended by colonel Bois, who was governor of it, that, after he had lost at least three hundred officers and soldiers in attempting to take it, he was compelled to recommend it to the governor of Abingdon, to send an

officer and some troops to block it up from infesting that great road into the west; and himself prosecuted his march to follow the king.

In Somersetshire, he heard of great magazines of all provisions, made for the supply of the king's army, which were sent every day by strong convoys to Exeter, there to wait farther orders. To surprise these provisions he sent major Carr, with five hundred horse; who fell into the village where the convoy was, and was very like to have mastered them, when sir Francis Doddington, with a troop of horse, and some foot from Bridgewater, came seasonably to their relief, and after a very sharp conflict, in which two or three good officers of the king's were killed, and among them major Killigrew, a very hopeful young man, the son of a gallant and most deserving father, he totally routed the enemy; killed thirty or forty upon the place; and had the pursuit of them two or three miles; in which major Carr, who commanded the party, and many other officers, were taken; and many others desperately wounded; and recovered all that they had taken: which sharp encounters, where always many more men are lost, than are killed, or taken prisoners, put such a stop to Middleton's march, that he was glad to retire back to Sherborne, that he might refresh the weariness, and recover the spirits of his men. This was the defeat, or obstruction, which the earl of Essex had intelligence that the forces had met with coming to his relief; and which made him despair of any succour that way.

When the earl found himself in this condition, and that, within very few days, he must be without any provisions for his army; he resolved, that sir

William Balfour should use his utmost endeavour to break through with his whole body of horse, and to save them the best he could; and then that he himself would embark his foot at Foy, and with them escape by sea. And two foot soldiers of the army, whereof one was a Frenchman, came over from them, and assured the king, "that they intended, that night, to break through with their "horse, which were all then drawn on that side "the river, and town of Listithiel; and that the "foot were to march to Foy, where they should be "embarked." This intelligence agreed with what they otherwise received, and was believed as it ought to be; and thereupon order was given, "that "both armies" (for that under prince Maurice was looked upon as distinct, and always so quartered) "should stand to their arms all that night; and if "the horse attempted an escape, fall on them from "both quarters;" the passage between them, through which they must go, being but a musket-shot over; and they could not avoid going very near a very little cottage, that was well fortified; in which fifty musketeers were placed. Advertisement was sent to Goring, and all the horse; and the orders renewed, which had formerly been given, for the breaking down the bridges, and cutting down the trees near the highway, to obstruct their passage.

The effect of all this providence was not such as was reasonably to be expected. The night grew dark and misty, as the enemy could wish; and about three in the morning, the whole body of the horse passed with great silence between the armies, and within pistol-shot of the cottage, without so much as one musket discharged at them. At the

break of day, the horse were discovered marching over the heath, beyond the reach of the foot; and there was only at hand the earl of Cleveland's brigade, the body of the king's horse being at a greater distance. That brigade, to which some other troops which had taken the alarm joined, followed them in the rear; and killed some, and took more prisoners: but stronger parties of the enemy frequently turning upon them, and the whole body often making a stand, they were often compelled to retire; yet followed in that manner, that they killed and took about a hundred; which was the greatest damage they sustained in their whole march. The notice and orders came to Goring, when he was in one of his jovial exercises; which he received with mirth, and slighting those who sent them, as men who took alarms too warmly; and he continued his delights, till all the enemy's horse were passed through his quarters; nor did then pursue them in any time. So that, excepting such who, by the tiring of their horses, became prisoners, Balfour continued his march even to London, with less loss or trouble than can be imagined, to the infinite reproach of the king's army, and of all his garrisons in the way. Nor was any man called in question for this supine neglect; it being not thought fit to make severe inquisition into the behaviour of the rest, when it was so notoriously known, how the superior officer had failed in his duty.

The next morning, after the horse were gone, the earl drew all his foot together, and quitted Listithiel, and marched towards Foy; having left order for the breaking down that bridge. But his majesty

himself from his new fort discerned it, and sent a company of musketeers, who quickly beat those that were left; and thereby preserved the bridge; over which the king presently marched to overtake the rear of the army, which marched so fast, yet in good order, that they left two demi-culverins, and two other very good guns, and some ammunition, to be disposed of by the king. That day was spent in smart skirmishes, in which many fell; and if the king's horse had been more, whereof he had only two troops of his guards, (which did good service,) it would have proved a bloody day to the enemy. The night coming on, the king lay in the field, his own quarters being so near the enemy, that they discharged many cannon-shot, which fell within few yards of him, when he was at supper. Sunday being the next day, and the first day of September, in the morning, Butler, lieutenant colonel to the earl of Essex, who had been taken prisoner at Boconnocke, and was exchanged for an officer of the king's, came from the earl to desire a parley. As soon as he was sent away, the earl embarked himself, with the lord Roberts, and such other officers as he had most kindness for, in a vessel at Foy; and so escaped into Plymouth; leaving all his army of foot, cannon, and ammunition, to the care of major general Skippon; who was to make as good conditions for them as he could; and after a very short stay in Plymouth, he went on board a ship of the royal navy, that attended there; and was, within few days, delivered at London; where he was received without any abatement of the respect they had constantly paid him; nor was it less than they could have shewed to him, if he had not only

brought back his own army, but the king himself likewise with him.

The king consented to the parley; upon which a cessation was concluded; and hostages interchangeably delivered; and then the enemy sent propositions, such as upon delivery of a strong fortified town, after a handsome defence, are usually granted. But they quickly found they were not looked upon as men in that condition; and so, in the end, they were contented to deliver up all their cannon; which, with the four taken two or three days before, were eight and thirty pieces of cannon: a hundred barrels of powder, with match and bullets proportionable; and about six thousand arms; which being done, "the officers were to have liberty "to wear their swords, and to pass with their own "money, and proper goods; and, to secure them "from plunder, they were to have a convoy to "Poole, or Southampton; all their sick and wounded "might stay in Foy till they were recovered, and "then have passes to Plymouth."

This agreement was executed accordingly, on Monday the second of September; and though it was near the evening before all was finished, they would march away that night; and though all care was taken to preserve them from violence, yet first at Listithiel, where they had been long quartered, and in other towns through which they had formerly passed, the inhabitants, especially the women, who pretended to see their own clothes and goods about them, which they had been plundered of, treated them very rudely, even to stripping of some of the soldiers, and more of their wives, who had before behaved themselves with great insolence in

the march. That night there came about one hundred of them to the king's army, and of the six thousand, for so many marched out of Foy, there did not a third part come to Southampton; where the king's convoy left them; to which Skippon gave a large testimony under his hand, "that they "had carried themselves with great civility towards "them, and fully complied with their obligation."

Whilst the king was in the west, though he had left Oxford in a very ill state in respect of provisions and fortifications, and soldiers, and of the different humours of those who remained there, the town being full of lords, (besides those of the council,) and of persons of the best quality, with very many ladies, who, when not pleased themselves, kept others from being so; yet, in his absence, they who were solicitous to carry on his service, concurred and agreed so well together, that they prevailed with the rest to do every thing that was necessary. They caused provisions of corn to be laid in, in great proportions; assigning the public schools to that purpose; and committing the custody of them to the owners of the corn. They had raised so many volunteers, that their guards were well kept, and there was need they should be so; for when both the parliament armies were before the town, major general Brown, a citizen of London of good reputation, and a stout man, had been left in Abingdon with a strong garrison; from whence, being superior in power, he infested Oxford very much; which gave them the more reason to prosecute the fortifications; which, in the most important places, they brought to a good perfection; and when they had no more apprehen-

sion of a siege, Waller being at a distance, and not able to follow the king, and less able to sit down before Oxford, they resolved to do somewhat to be talked of.

The king had, before his departure, found they were not satisfied with their governor, and very apprehensive of his rudeness, and incomplacency. Upon the death of sir William Penniman, who had been governor of Oxford, to the great satisfaction of all men, being a very brave and generous person, and who performed all manner of civilities to all sorts of people, as having had a very good education, and well understanding the manners of the court, (the queen being then in Oxford,) her majesty, who thought herself the safer for being under the charge and care of a Roman catholic, prevailed with the king to confer that charge upon sir Arthur Aston; who had been at Reading, and had the fortune to be very much esteemed, where he was not known; and very much detested, where he was; and he was by this time too well known at Oxford, to be beloved by any; which the king well understood, and was the more troubled, because he saw the prejudice was universal, and with too much reason; and therefore his majesty had given an extraordinary commission to the lords of his council, to whose authority he was to submit, which obliged him to live with a little more respect towards them, than he desired to do; being a man of a rough nature, and so given up to an immoderate love of money, that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it. There were likewise some officers of name, who, having then no charge in the army, stayed in the town; and those, by the

king's direction, the lords disposed to assist the governor; and particularly, to take care of the several quarters of the town; one whereof was assigned to each of them: amongst them, colonel Gage was one; who having the English regiment in Flanders, had got leave there to make offer of his service to the king; and to that purpose was newly come from thence to Oxford; and was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, both as a soldier and a wise man; of whom there will be hereafter more occasion to enlarge.

He was in truth a very extraordinary man, of a large and very graceful person, of an honourable extraction, his grandfather having been knight of the garter; besides his great experience and abilities as a soldier, which were very eminent, he had very great parts of breeding, being a very good scholar in the polite parts of learning, a great master in the Spanish and Italian tongues, besides the French and the Dutch, which he spoke in great perfection; having scarce been in England in twenty years before. He was likewise very conversant in courts; having for many years been much esteemed in that of the archduke and duchess, Albert and Isabella, at Brussels; which was a great and very regular court at that time; so that he deserved to be looked upon as a wise and accomplished person. Of this gentleman, the lords of the council had a singular esteem, and consulted frequently with him, whilst they looked to be besieged; and thought Oxford to be the more secure for his being in it; which rendered him so ungrateful to the governor, sir Arthur, that he crossed him in any thing he proposed, and hated him per-

fectly; as they were of natures, and manners, as different as men can be.

The garrison of Basing-house, the seat of the marquis of Winchester, in which himself was and commanded, had been now straitly besieged, for the space of above three months, by a conjunction of the parliament troops of Hampshire and Sussex, under the command of Norton, Onslow, Jarvis, Whitehead, and Morley, all colonels of regiments, and now united in this service under the command of Norton; a man of spirit, and of the greatest fortune of all the rest. It was so closely begirt before the king's march into the west, and was looked upon as a place of such importance, that when the king sent notice to Oxford of his resolution to march into the west, the council humbly desired his majesty, "that he would make Basing "his way, and thereby relieve it," which his majesty found would have retarded his march too much, and might have invited Waller the sooner to follow him; and therefore declined it. From that time, the marquis, by frequent expresses, importuned the lords of the council "to provide, in "some manner, for his relief; and not to suffer "his person, and a place from whence the rebels "received so much prejudice, to fall into their "hands." The lady marchioness, his wife, was then in Oxford; and solicited very diligently the timely preservation of her husband; which made every body desire to gratify her, being a lady of great honour and alliance, as sister to the earl of Essex, and to the lady marchioness of Hertford; who was likewise in the town, and engaged her husband to take this business to heart: and all the

Roman catholics, who were numerous in the town, looked upon themselves as concerned to contribute all they could to the good work, and so offered to list themselves and their servants in the service.

The council, both upon public and private motives, was very heartily disposed to effect it; and had several conferences together, and with the officers; in all which the governor too reasonably opposed the design, "as full of more difficulties, "and liable to greater damages, than any soldier, "who understood command, would expose himself "and the king's service to;" and protested, "that "he would not suffer any of the small garrison "that was under his charge to be hazarded in the "attempt." It was very true, Basing was near forty miles from Oxford, and, in the way between them, the enemy had a strong garrison of horse and foot at Abingdon, and as strong at Reading, whose horse every day visited all the highways near, besides a body of horse and dragoons quartered at Newbury; so that it appeared to most men hardly possible to send a party to Basing, and impossible for that party to return to Oxford, if they should be able to get to Basing: yet new importunities from the marquis, with a positive declaration, "that he could not defend it above ten "days, and must then submit to the worst con-"ditions the rebels were like to grant to his "person, and to his religion;" and new instances from his lady prevailed with the lords to enter upon a new consultation; in which the governor persisted in his old resolution, as seeing no cause to change it.

In this debate colonel Gage declared, "that "though he thought the service full of hazard,

" especially for the return; yet if the lords would, " by listing their own servants, persuade the gen- " tlemen in the town to do the like, and engage " their own persons, whereby a good troop or two " of horse might be raised, (upon which the prin- " cipal dependence must be,) he would willingly, if " there were nobody else thought fitter for it, un- " dertake the conduct of them himself; and hoped " he should give a good account of it:" which being offered with great cheerfulness by a person, of whose prudence, as well as courage, they had a full confidence, they all resolved to do the utmost that was in their power to make it effectual.

There was about this time, by the surrender of Greenland-house, (which could not possibly be longer defended, the whole structure being beaten down by the cannon,) the regiment of colonel Hawkins marched into Oxford, amounting to near three hundred; to which as many others joined as made it up four hundred men. The lords mounted their servants upon their own horses; and they, with the volunteers, who frankly listed themselves, amounted to a body of two hundred and fifty very good horse, all put under the command of colonel William Web, an excellent officer, bred up in Flanders in some emulation with colonel Gage; and who, upon the catholic interest, was at this time contented to serve under him. With this small party for so great an action, Gage marched out of Oxford in the beginning of the night; and, by the morning, reached the place where he intended to refresh himself and his troops; which was a wood near Wallingford; from whence he despatched an express to sir William Ogle, go-

vernor of Winchester; who had made a promise to the lords of the council, "that, whensoever they "would endeavour the raising of the siege before "Basing, he would send one hundred horse and "three hundred foot out of his garrison, for their "assistance;" and a presumption upon this aid was the principal motive for the undertaking: and so he was directed, at what hour in the morning his party should fall into Basing park, in the rear of the rebels' quarters; whilst Gage himself would fall on the other side; the marquis being desired at the same time to make frequent sallies from the house.

After some hours of refreshment in the morning, and sending this express to Winchester, the troops marched through by-lanes to Aldermaston, a village out of any great road; where they intended to take more rest that night. They had marched, from the time they left Oxford, with orange-tawny scarfs and ribbons, that they might be taken for the parliament soldiers; and hoped, by that artifice, to have passed undiscovered even to the approach upon the besiegers. But the party of horse which was sent before to Aldermaston, found there some of the parliament horse, and, forgetting their orange-tawny scarfs, fell upon them; and killed some, and took six or seven prisoners; whereby the secret was discovered, and notice quickly sent to Basing of the approaching danger; which accident made their stay shorter at that village than was intended, and than the weariness of the soldiers required. About eleven of the clock, they begun their march again; which they continued all that night; the horsemen often alighting, that the foot

might ride, and others taking many of them behind them; however they could not but be extremely weary and surbated.

Between four and five of the clock on Wednesday morning, it having been Monday night that they left Oxford, they arrived within a mile of Basing; where an officer, sent from sir William Ogle, came to them to let them know, "that he durst not send "his troops so far, in regard many of the enemy's "horse lay between Winchester and Basing." This broke all the colonel's measures; and, since there was no receding, made him change the whole method of his proceedings; and, instead of dividing his forces, and falling on in several places, as he meant to have done if the Winchester forces had complied with their obligation, or if his march had been undiscovered, he resolved now to fall on jointly with all his body in one place; in order to which, he commanded the men to be ranged in battalions; and rid to every squadron, giving them such words as were proper to the occasion; which no man could more pertinently deliver, or with a better grace: he commanded every man to tie a white tape ribbon, or handkerchief, above the elbow of their right arm; and gave them the word *St. George;* which was the sign and the *word* that he had sent before to the marquis, lest in his sallies their men, for want of distinction, might fall foul of each other.

Thus they marched towards the house, colonel Web leading the right wing, and lieutenant colonel Bunkly the left of the horse; and Gage himself the foot. They had not marched far, when at the upper end of a large campaign field, upon a little

rising of an hill, they discerned a body of five cornets of horse very full, standing in very good order to receive them. But before any impression could be made upon them, the colonel must pass between two hedges lined very thick with musketeers; from whom the horse very courageously bore a smart volley, and then charged the enemy's horse so gallantly, that, after a shorter resistance than was expected from the known courage of Norton, though many of his men fell, they gave ground; and at last plainly run to a safe place, beyond which they could not be pursued. The foot disputed the business much better, and being beaten from hedge to hedge, retired into their quarters and works; which they did not abandon in less than two hours; and then a free entrance into the house was gained on that side, where the colonel only stayed to salute the marquis, and to put in the ammunition he had brought with him; which was only twelve barrels of powder, and twelve hundred weight of match; and immediately marched with his horse and foot to Basingstoke, a good market-town two miles from the house; leaving one hundred foot to be led, by some officers of the garrison, to the town of Basing, a village but a mile distant. In Basingstoke they found store of wheat, malt, oats, salt, bacon, cheese, and butter; as much of which was all that day sent to the house, as they could find carts or horses to transport, together with fourteen barrels of powder, and some muskets, and forty or fifty head of cattle, with above one hundred sheep: whilst the other party, that went to Basing town, beat the enemy that was quartered there, after having killed forty or fifty of them; some fled into

the church, where they were quickly taken prisoners; and, among them, two captains, Jarvise and Jephson, the two eldest sons of two of the greatest rebels of that country, and both heirs to good fortunes, who were carried prisoners to Basing-house; the rest, who besieged that side, being fled into a strong fort which they had raised in the park. The colonel spent that and the next day in sending all manner of provisions into the house; and then, reasonably computing that the garrison was well provided for two months, he thought of his retreat to Oxford: which it was time to do: for besides that Norton had drawn all his men together, who had been dismayed, with all the troops which lay quartered within any distance, and appeared within sight of the house more numerous and gay than before, as if he meant to be revenged before they parted; he was likewise well informed by the persons he had employed, that the enemy from Abingdon had lodged themselves at Aldermaston, and those from Reading and Newbury, in two other villages upon the river Kennet; over which he was to pass.

Hereupon, that he might take away the apprehension that he meant suddenly to depart, he sent out orders, which he was sure would come into the enemy's hands, to two or three villages next the house, "that they should, by the next day noon, "send such proportions of corn into Basing-house, "as were mentioned in the warrants; upon pain, "if they failed by the time, to have a thousand "horse and dragoons sent to fire the towns." This being done, and all his men drawn together about eleven of the clock at night, Thursday the second

night after he came thither, the marquis giving him two or three guides who knew the country exactly, he marched from Basing without sound of drum or trumpet, and passed the Kennet, undiscovered, by a ford near a bridge which the enemy had broke down; and thereby thought they had secured that passage; the horse taking the foot *en croupe;* and then, marching by-ways, in the morning they likewise passed over the Thames, at a ford little more than a mile from Reading; and so escaped the enemy, and got before night to Wallingford; where he securely rested, and refreshed his men that night; and the next day arrived safe at Oxford; having lost only two captains, and two or three other gentlemen, and common men; in all to the number of eleven; and forty or fifty wounded, but not dangerously. What number the enemy lost could not be known; but it was believed they lost many, besides above one hundred prisoners that were taken; and it was confessed, by enemies as well as friends, that it was as soldierly an action as had been performed in the war on either side; and redounded very much to the reputation of the commander.

The next day after the army of Essex was gone, and dissolved, the king returned to his quarters at Boconnocke, and stayed there only a day to refresh his men; having sent, the day before, Greenvil, with the Cornish horse and foot, towards Plymouth, to join with Goring in the pursuit of Balfour, and that body of horse; which, by passing over the bridge near Salt-ash, they might easily have done. But he slackened his march that he might possess Salt-ash, which the enemy had quitted, and left therein eleven pieces of cannon,

with some arms and ammunition; which, together with the town, was not worth his unwarrantable stay. This kept him from joining with Goring; who thereby, and for want of those foot, excused his not fighting with Balfour when he was within distance; but contented himself with sending a commanded party to follow his rear; and in that too eager a pursuit, captain Samuel Wainman, a young man of extraordinary parts and expectation, the son of a very wise and eminent father, was lost, to the irreparable damage of a noble family. Thus Balfour, by an orderly and well governed march, passed above one hundred miles in the king's quarters, as hath been said before, without any considerable loss, to a place of safety within their own precincts.

The fear and apprehension of the enemy was no sooner over, than the murmur begun, "that the "king had been persuaded to grant too good con- "ditions to that body of foot; and that he might "well have forced them to have submitted to his "mercy, as well as to have laid down their arms; "and so have made both officers and soldiers to "become prisoners of war: by which the enemy "would not have been able so soon to have raised "another army." But they who undertook to censure that action, how great a number soever they were, did not at all understand the present temper and constitution of the king's army; which then was not near so strong as it was reputed to be. Whatever it might have done by a brisk and vigorous attempt, when it first entered Cornwall, which was in the beginning of August, and when a party of his majesty's horse surprised and seized

the earl of Essex's own lieutenant colonel, and many other officers of name at Boconnocke, before his majesty was suspected to be in any near distance: I say, whatever might have been then done, in that consternation the enemy was then in, the case was very much altered in the beginning of September, when the articles were made; and when the number of the foot who laid down their arms was in truth superior to those of the king's, (as it will appear anon,) when his army marched out of Cornwall. The oversight, which was a great one, was on the other side, when their horse broke through. If they had then known, and it was hardly possible they should not know it, that all the king's horse, his guard only excepted, were at that time quartered behind them, about St. Blase, their foot might very well have marched away with their horse, their cannon only being left behind, and having got but four or five hours before, which they might easily, and as undiscerned have done, the king's army in the condition and state it was in, naked and unshod, would through those enclosed parts, narrow lanes, and deep ditches, in Devon and Somerset, have been able to have done them little harm: besides the king very well knew at the time the articles were made, that Middleton, notwithstanding all his affronts, was then come to Tiverton; and therefore there can be no doubt, that his majesty, in those condescensions, proceeded with no less prudence than clemency.

After this great victory, the king thought fit to renew his offer of peace; and sent a message to the two houses of parliament, to desire that there might be a treaty to that purpose; which message

was sent by a trumpet to the earl of Essex, after his repair to London, to be delivered by him, of which there was no consideration taken in three months after the receipt of it. This done, the king was persuaded, in his way (as it was not much out of it) to look upon Plymouth; for so far it might be presumed that the Cornish troops, how impatient soever they were to be at their harvest, would attend him: and if he could, by appearing before it, become master of it, which was not thought improbable, he would return to Oxford in great triumph, and leave the west throughly reduced; for then Lyme could not hold out, and he might be sure to carry an army with him strongly recruited; but if it proved not a work of ease and expedition, he might proceed in his march without farther stay; and he quickly found it necessary to do so; having sent a summons to the town, and received a rude answer to it: for the earl of Essex had left the lord Roberts governor in that town; a man of a sour and surly nature, a great opiniâtre, and one who must be overcome before he would believe that he could be so. The king, finding no good could be done with him, and that the reducing the town would require some time, pursued his former resolution, and marched away; having committed the blocking up of Plymouth to sir Richard Grenvil, a man who had been bred a soldier, and of great expectation, but of greater promises; having with all manner of assurance undertaken to take the town by Christmas, if such conditions might be performed to him, all which were punctually complied with; whilst he made his quarters as far as ever they had been formerly from the town;

beginning his war first upon his wife, who had been long in possession of her own fortune, by virtue of a decree in chancery, many years before the troubles; and seizing upon all she had, and then making himself master of all their estates who were in the service of the parliament, without doing any thing of importance upon the town; only upon the first message between the lord Roberts and him, there arose so mortal a misunderstanding, that there was never civility or quarter observed between them; but such as were taken on either side between them were put to the sword, or, which was worse, to the halter.

Since there will be often occasion to mention this gentleman, sir Richard Greenvil, in the ensuing discourse, and because many men believed, that he was hardly dealt with in the next year, where all the proceedings will be set down at large, it will not be unfit, in this place, to say somewhat of him, and of the manner and merit of his entering into the king's service some months before the time we are now upon. He was of a very ancient and worthy family in Cornwall, which had, in several ages, produced men of great courage, and very signal in their fidelity to, and service of, the crown; and was himself younger brother (though in his nature, or humour, not of kin to him) to the brave sir Bevil Greenvil, who so courageously lost his life in the battle of Lansdown. Being a younger brother, and a very young man, he went into the Low Countries to learn the profession of a soldier; to which he had dedicated himself under the greatest general of that age, prince Maurice, and in the regiment of my lord Vere, who was

general of all the English. In that service he was looked upon as a man of courage, and a diligent officer, in the quality of a captain, to which he attained after few years' service. About this time, in the end of the reign of king James, the war broke out between England and Spain; and in the expedition to Cales, this gentleman served as a major to a regiment of foot, and continued in the same command, in the war that soon after followed against France; and, at the Isle of Rhee, insinuated himself into the very good grace of the duke of Buckingham, who was the general in that invasion; and after the unfortunate retreat from thence, was made colonel of a regiment with general approbation, and as an officer that well deserved it.

His credit every day increased with the duke; who, out of the generosity of his nature, as a most generous person he was, resolved to raise his fortune; towards the beginning whereof, by his countenance and solicitation, he prevailed with a rich widow to marry him, who had been a lady of extraordinary beauty, which she had not yet outlived; and though she had no great dower by her husband, a younger brother of the earl of Suffolk; yet she inherited a fair fortune of her own, near Plymouth; and was besides very rich in a personal estate, and was looked upon as the richest marriage of the west. This lady, by the duke's credit, sir Richard Greenvil (for he was now made a knight and baronet) obtained; and was thereby possessed of a plentiful estate upon the borders of his own country; and where his own family had great credit and authority. The war being shortly at an end, and he deprived of his great patron, had

nothing now to depend upon but the fortune of his wife; which, though ample enough to have supported the expense a person of his quality ought to have made, was not large enough to satisfy his vanity and ambition; nor so great, as he, upon common reports, had promised himself by her. By not being enough pleased with her fortune, he grew less pleased with his wife; who, being a woman of a haughty and imperious nature, and of a wit superior to his, quickly resented the disrespect she received from him; and in no degree studied to make herself easy to him. After some years spent together in these domestic unsociable contestations, in which he possessed himself of all her estate, as the sole master of it, without allowing her, out of her own, any competency for herself, and indulged to himself all those licenses in her own house, which to women are most grievous, she found means to withdraw herself from him; and was with all kindness received into that family, in which she had before been married, and was always very much respected.

Her absence was not ingrateful to him, till the tenants refused to pay him any more rent, and he found himself on a sudden deprived of her whole estate, which was all he had to live upon: for it appeared now, that she had, before her marriage with him, settled her entire fortune so absolutely upon the earl of Suffolk, that the present right was in him, and he required the rents to be paid to him. This begat a suit in the chancery between sir Richard Greenvil and the then earl of Suffolk, before the lord Coventry, who found the conveyances in law to be so firm, that he could not only

not relieve sir Richard Greenvil in equity, but that in justice he must decree the land to the earl; which he did. This very sensible mortification transported him so much, that, being a man who used to speak very bitterly of those he did not love, after all endeavours to have engaged the earl in a personal conflict, he revenged himself upon him in such opprobrious language, as the government and justice of that time would not permit to pass unpunished; and the earl appealed for reparation to the court of star-chamber; where sir Richard was decreed to pay three thousand pounds for damages to him; and was likewise fined the sum of three thousand pounds to the king; who gave the fine likewise to the earl: so that sir Richard was committed to the prison of the Fleet in execution for the whole six thousand pounds; which at that time was thought by all men to be a very severe and rigorous decree, and drew a general compassion towards the unhappy gentleman.

After he had endured many years of strict imprisonment, a little before the beginning of the late troubles, he made his escape out of the prison; and transporting himself beyond the seas, remained there till the parliament was called that produced so many miseries to the kingdom; and when he heard that many decrees which had been made, in that time, by the court of star-chamber, were repealed, and the persons grieved, absolved from those penalties, he likewise returned, and petitioned to have his cause heard; for which a committee was appointed; but before it could be brought to any conclusion, the rebellion broke out in Ireland.

Among the first troops that were raised, and transported for the suppression thereof, by the parliament, (to whom the king had unhappily committed the prosecution thereof,) sir Richard Greenvil, upon the fame of being a good officer, was sent over with a very good troop of horse; and was major of the earl of Leicester's own regiment of horse, and was very much esteemed by him, and the more by the parliament, for the signal acts of cruelty he did every day commit upon the Irish; which were of so many kinds upon both sexes, young and old, hanging old men who were bedrid, because they would not discover where their money was, that he believed they had; and old women, some of quality, after he had plundered them, and found less than he expected; that they can hardly be believed, though notoriously known to be true.

After the cessation was made in Ireland, he pretended that his conscience would not give him leave to stay there, and was much the more welcome to the parliament, for declaring so heartily against that cessation; and sir William Waller being in the beginning of this year to make his expedition into the west, after the battle of Alresford, sir Richard Greenvil was either commended to him, or invited by him, to command the horse under him; which he cheerfully accepted, not without many insinuations, how much his interest in Devonshire and Cornwall would advance theirs. He received from the parliament a great sum of money, for the making his equipage; in which he always affected more than ordinary lustre; and sir William Waller communicated to him all his de-

signs, with the ground and foundation of them, as to an entire friend, and an officer of that eminence, [by] whose advice he meant to govern his own conduct.

His first and principal design was to surprise Basing-house, by a correspondence with the lord Edward Pawlet, brother to the marquis of Winchester, and then with him, as unsuspected as a brother ought to be. And for the better execution of this, sir Richard Greenvil was sent before with a body of the horse, that all things might be well disposed, and prepared against the time Waller himself should come to him. He appointed a rendezvous for the horse at Bagshot, and the same day marched out of London only with his equipage; which was very noble; a coach and six horses, a waggon and six horses, many led horses, and many servants: with those, when he came to Stanes, he left the Bagshot-road, and marched directly to Reading, where the king's garrison then was; and thence, without delay, to Oxford, where he was very graciously received by the king, and the more, because he was not expected. He communicated then to the king the whole design of the surprise of Basing; upon which the king sent an express immediately to the marquis, with all the particular informations; who thereupon seized upon his brother, and the other conspirators; who confessed all, with all the circumstances of the correspondence and combination. The marquis prevailed with the king, that he might only turn his brother out of the garrison, after justice was done upon his complices. This very happy and seasonable discovery preserved that important place; which, without it,

had infallibly been lost within few days, and therefore could not but much endear the person of the discoverer; upon whom the parliament thundered out all those reproaches, which his deserting them in such a manner was liable to; and denounced all those judgments upon him of attainder, confiscation, and incapacity of pardon, which they used to do against those, who, they thought, had done them most mischief, or against whom they were most incensed: which was all the excuse he could make for his proceedings against those of their party, who fell into his hands afterwards where he commanded.

From Oxford he went quickly into the west, before he had any command there; declaring that he would assist colonel Digby; who, upon prince Maurice's departure from thence with his army, was left to block up Plymouth; which he did with much courage and soldierly ability. And to him he had letters from the king, that he should put sir Richard Greenvil into the possession of his wife's estate, that lay within his quarters, and which was justly liable to a sequestration by her living in London, and being too zealously of that party; which the colonel punctually did. And so he came, after so many years, to be again possessed of all that estate: which was what he most set his heart upon.

One day he made a visit from his house, which he called his own, to the colonel; and dined with him; and the colonel civilly sent half a dozen troopers to wait on him home, lest any of the garrison, in their usual excursions, might meet with him. And in his return home, he saw four or five fellows coming out of a neighbour wood, with bur-

dens of wood upon their backs, which they had stolen. He bid the troopers fetch those fellows to him; and finding that they were soldiers of the garrison, he made one of them hang all the rest; which, to save his own life, he was contented to do: so strong his appetite was to those executions he had been accustomed to in Ireland, without any kind of commission or pretence of authority.

Shortly after, upon a sally made with horse and foot from the town, colonel Digby, (who, besides the keenness of his courage, had a more composed understanding, and less liable to fumes, than those of his family who had sharper parts,) charging them with such vigour as routed and drove them back, received himself in the close an unhappy wound, with a rapier, in the eye; which pierced near his brain; so that, though he was brought off by his soldiers, it was very long before he recovered enough to endure the air, and never did the effects of the wound. And upon this accident sir Richard Greenvil was placed in that command, which he executed for some months; until, upon the advance of the earl of Essex, he was compelled to retire into Cornwall, where we found him at the king's coming thither.

This so large excursion upon so private a person may seem very extravagant, and to carry in it too much animosity against the memory of a man who did some things well, and was not without some merit in the king's service: but they who know the occurrences of the next year, which will be faithfully related, and consider the severity that he compelled the prince to use towards him, of which he made a great noise afterwards in the world, and

prevailed with some good men to believe that the proceeding against him was too rigorous, and that the council then about the prince had some personal disrespect towards him, may reasonably believe, that this enlargement was in some degree necessary, that such a man's original, nature, manners, and disposition, should be manifest and clearly understood.

The king was now most intent to return into his winter quarters at Oxford, which was all he could propose to himself; and in which he expected to meet with all the obstructions and difficulties his enraged enemies could lay in his way. He knew well that Waller was even ready to come out of London, and that Middleton was retired from Tiverton to join with him; that they had sent for the earl of Manchester to march towards the west with his victorious army: so that, if he long deferred his march, he must look to fight another battle, before he could reach Oxford. Notwithstanding all which, his army, that had been upon hard duty, and had made long marches above six months together, required some rest and refreshment: the foot were without clothes and shoes; and the horse in such ill humour, that without money they would be more discontented. To provide the best remedy that could be applied to these evils, the next day after the king marched from Plymouth, himself, attended only by his own troop, and the principal officers of the court, went to Exeter; appointing the army, by slow marches, to follow, and to be quartered at Tiverton, and the other towns adjacent; where they arrived on the 21st of September.

His majesty now quickly discerned how continual

hard duty, with little fighting, had lessened and diminished his army. His own body of foot, which when he entered Cornwall were above four thousand, was at this time much fewer; and prince Maurice's, which consisted of full four thousand five hundred, when the king first viewed them at Kirton, was not now half the number. Of all the forces under Greenvil, which had made so much noise, and had been thought worthy of the name of an army, there were only five hundred foot and three hundred horse left with him, for the blocking of Plymouth; the rest were dwindled away; except, which was his usual artifice, he had encouraged them to stay for some time in Cornwall, and then to repair to him, as many of them did; for his forces suddenly increased; and the truth is, few of the Cornish marched eastward with the king. The king's horse were harassed, and many of them dead in the marches; which contributed to the discontent of the riders; so that great provisions were to be made before they could begin a new march. By the diligence and activity of the commissioners appointed in Devonshire for those affairs, his majesty was within few days supplied with two thousand pounds in money, which was presently distributed among the horse; and three thousand suits of clothes, with good proportions of shoes and stockings; which were likewise delivered to the foot. What remained yet wanting for the horse and foot, was promised to meet them, upon their first entrance into Somersetshire; where the commissioners of that county had undertaken they should be ready.

There was another thing of equal importance to be provided for, before the king left Exeter; which

was, the blocking up the troops of Lyme; which were grown more insolent by the success they had had; and made incursions sometimes even to the walls of Exeter; and to restrain a stronger garrison in Taunton. For when prince Maurice raised his siege from Lyme, he had very unhappily drawn out the garrison of Taunton, which consisted of eight hundred men, under the command of sir John Stawel, a person of that notorious courage and fidelity, that he would never have given it up; and left only fourscore men in the castle to be kept by a lieutenant, who basely gave it up, as soon as Essex in his passage demanded it; for which he deservedly afterwards suffered death. And it was now, by the garrison the earl put into it, and the extreme malignity and pride of the inhabitants, in both which they excelled, become a sharp thorn in the sides of all that populous county.

To remedy the first of these, some troops which depended upon the garrison of Exeter were assigned, which were to receive orders from sir John Berkley, governor thereof; who was the more vacant for that service by the reduction of Barnstable; which was done during the king's stay at Exeter. The other of Taunton was more unhappily committed to colonel Windham, the governor of Bridgewater; who, though a gentleman of known courage and unquestionable fidelity, by the divisions and factions in the country, was not equal to the work. To despatch all this, the king stayed not a full week at Exeter; but hastened his march to Chard in Somersetshire, where he stayed longer; for which he paid dear after; for he might otherwise have reached Oxford, before the enemy was in a conjunction

strong enough to stop him: yet even that stay could not be prevented, except he would have left the money and clothes (which the commissioners of Somersetshire promised, and did deliver there at last) behind him; which would not have been grateful to the army, which had not had much rest.

It was the last of September, that the king marched from Chard; and quartered that night at a house of the lord Pawlet's, where prince Rupert met him, and gave him an account of the unhappy affairs of the north, and that he had left about two thousand horse under the command of sir Marmaduke Langdale; which he might as well have brought with him, and then the king would have had a glorious end of his western expedition. Prince Rupert presently returned to Bristol, with orders, as soon as was possible, to march with those northern horse under sir Marmaduke Langdale, and two thousand foot, which were in Wales, under colonel Charles Gerrard, into Gloucestershire; by which the enemy might be obliged to divide their force, which if they should still keep united, the prince from thence would be able to join with the king: but these orders were not executed in time. The king's army at this time consisted in the whole but of five thousand five hundred foot, and about four thousand horse; and Waller was already come with his horse to Blandford; but some of his troops being beaten up by those of the king's, he retired to Shaftsbury, and those parts of Wiltshire adjacent. It concerned the king very much, before he left those parts, to relieve Portland-castle, which had been now besieged from the time of the earl of

Essex's march that way. And to that purpose, he marched to Sherborne; where he stayed six days too long, though in that time he raised the siege before Portland-castle, if he had not hoped by that delay that his nephew prince Rupert would have been well advanced in his march. Sir Lewis Dives was left with his own regiment of one hundred and fifty old soldiers, and some horse in Sherborne-castle, and made commander in chief of Dorsetshire; in hope that he would be able shortly by his activity, and the very good affection of that county, to raise men enough to recover Weymouth: and he did perform all that could be reasonably expected from him. His majesty had a great desire, in his march to Oxford, to relieve Donnington-castle by Newbury, and Basing; which was again besieged by almost their whole army; and then to send a good party to relieve Banbury, which had been close besieged by colonel John Fiennes, another son of the lord Say, with all the forces of Northampton-shire, Warwick, and Coventry; and bravely defended by sir William Compton, full three months; but by this time reduced to the utmost extremity.

In order to preserve all this, the king came to Salisbury upon the fifteenth of October; where he understood, "that Waller lay at Andover with his "troops; that Manchester was advanced as far as "Reading with five thousand horse and foot, and "four and twenty pieces of ordnance; and that "four regiments of the trained bands of London "were beginning their march to him; and that "three thousand of the horse and foot of the earl "of Essex's army were near Portsmouth, expecting "orders to join with the rest." This might very

well have disposed his majesty to have hastened his march to Oxford, which would have made a fair conclusion of the campaign; and this was the more reasonable, because here the king received letters from prince Rupert, in which he declared, "that it was not possible for him to bring up his "troops so soon as his majesty expected;" and indeed as his present condition required: and if this had been resolved, both Donnington-castle and Banbury might have been seasonably set at liberty; but a great gaiety possessed Goring, that he earnestly advised the king to march, with secrecy and expedition, to beat Waller; who lay at Andover, a good distance from the rest, with three thousand horse and dragoons; which the king, upon the unanimous consent of the council, consented to.

He had left all the cannon that he had taken from Essex, in Exeter; and now he sent all his great cannon to a garrison he had within two miles of Salisbury at Langford, a house of the lord Gorges; where was a garrison of one hundred men, commanded by a good officer. The rest of the cannon and carriages were left at Wilton, the house of the earl of Pembroke, with a regiment of foot to guard them; and the king appointed the rendezvous for the army to be the next morning, by seven of the clock, near Clarendon-park; and good guards were set at all the avenues of the city, to keep all people from going out, that Waller might not have any notice of his purpose: and if the hour of the rendezvous had been observed, as it rarely was, (though his majesty was himself the most punctual, and never absent at the precise time,)

that design had succeeded to wish. For though the foot under prince Maurice came not up till eleven of the clock, so that the army did not begin its march till twelve, yet they came within four miles of Andover, before Waller had any notice of their motions; when he drew out his whole body towards them, as if he meant to fight; but upon view of their strength, and the good order they were in, he changed his mind, and drew back into the town; leaving a strong party of horse and dragoons to make good his retreat. But the king's van charged, and routed them with good execution, and pursued them through the town, and slew many of them in the rear, until the darkness of the night secured them, and hindered the others from following farther. But they were all scattered, and came not quickly together again; and the king quartered that night at Andover. And the scattering this great body under Waller in this manner, and the little resistance they made, so raised the spirits of the king's army, that they desired nothing more than to have a battle with the whole army of the enemy; which the king meant not to seek out, nor to decline fighting with them, if they put themselves in his way. And so he resolved to raise the siege of Donnington-castle, which was little out of his way to Oxford. And to that purpose, he sent orders for the cannon which had been left at Langford and Wilton, to make all haste to a place appointed between Andover and Newbury; where he stayed with his army till they came up to him; and then marched together to Newbury, within a mile of Donnington.

Donnington-castle had been (when Middleton

from thence pursued his march into the west) left to the care of colonel Horton; who for some time was contented to block it up; but then finding his summons neglected, and that they had store of provisions within, and having an addition of forces from Abingdon and Reading, he resolved to besiege it; which he begun to do the 29th of September; and made his approaches, and raised a battery on the foot of the hill next Newbury, and plied it so with his great cannon, that, after twelve days' continual shooting, he beat down three towers and a part of the wall; which he believed had so humbled the governor and the garrison, that they would be no longer so stubborn as they had been; and therefore he sent them another summons, in which he magnified his own clemency, "that pre-"vailed with him, now they were even at his "mercy, to offer them quarter for their lives, if "they gave up the castle before Wednesday at ten "of the clock in the morning; but if that his "favour was not accepted, he declared, in the pre-"sence of God, that there should no man amongst "them have his life spared." The governor made himself merry with his high and threatening language; and sent him word, "he would keep the "place, and would neither give nor receive quar-"ter." At this time, the earl of Manchester himself with his forces came to Newbury; and receiving no better answer to his own summons, than Horton had done before, he resolved to storm it the next day. But his soldiers, being well informed of the resolution of those within, declined that hot service; and plied it with their artillery until the next night; and then removed their battery to the other

side of the castle; and begun their approaches by saps; when the governor made a strong sally, and beat them out of their trenches, and killed a lieutenant colonel, who commanded in chief, with many soldiers; shot their chief cannoneer through the head, brought away their cannon baskets, and many arms, and retired with very little loss: yet the next night they finished their battery; and continued some days their great shot, till they heard of the approach of the king's army; and thereupon they drew off their ordnance, and their trained bands of London being not yet come to them, the earl thought fit to march away to a greater distance; there having been, in nineteen days, above one thousand great shot spent upon the walls, without any other damage to the garrison, than the beating down some old parts thereof.

When the king came to Newbury, the governor of Donnington attended him, and was knighted for his very good behaviour; and there was then so little apprehension of dread of the enemy, that his majesty thought not of prosecuting his journey towards Oxford, before he should relieve both Basing and Banbury. And now importunities being sent from the last, which was even upon the point of rendering for want of victuals, they having already eaten most of their horses, his majesty was well content that the earl of Northampton, who had the supreme government of that garrison, where he had left his brave brother his lieutenant, should, with three regiments of horse, attempt the relieving it; letters being sent to Oxford, "that "colonel Gage, with some horse and foot from "thence, should meet him;" which they did

punctually; and came time enough to Banbury before they were expected: yet they found the rebels' horse (superior in number by much to theirs) drawn up in five bodies on the south side of the town, near their sconce; as if, upon the advantage of that ground, they meant to fight. But two or three shots, made at them by a couple of drakes brought from Oxford by colonel Gage, made them stagger, and retire from their ground very disorderly. Their cannon and baggage had been sent out of the town the night before; and their foot, being above seven hundred, run out of Banbury upon the first advance of the king's troops. Colonel Gage with the foot went directly to the castle, that they might be at liberty; whilst the earl of Northampton followed the horse so closely, that they found it best to make a stand; where he furiously charged and routed them; and, notwithstanding they had lined some hedges with musketeers, pursued them till they were scattered, and totally dispersed; their general, young Fiennes, continuing his flight, till he came to Coventry, without staying. The foot, for the most part, by dispersing themselves, escaped by the enclosures, before colonel Gage could come up. But there were taken, in the chase, one field-piece, and three waggons of arms and ammunition; many slain; and two officers of horse, with near one hundred other prisoners, four cornets of horse, and two hundred horses, were taken; and all this with the loss of one captain and nine troopers; some officers, and others, being wounded, but not mortally. Thus the siege was raised from Banbury; which had continued full thirteen weeks; so notably de-

fended, that though they had but two horses left uneaten, they had never suffered a summons to be sent to them; and it was now relieved the very day of the month upon which both town and castle had been rendered to the king two years before; being the 26th of October.

Though the relief of Banbury succeeded to wish, yet the king paid dear for it soon after: the very day after that service was performed, colonel Urry, a Scotchman, who had formerly served the parliament, and is well mentioned, in the transactions of the last year, for having quitted them, and performed some signal service to the king, had in the west, about the time the king entered into Cornwall, (in a discontented humour, which was very natural to him,) desired a pass to go beyond the seas; and so quitted the service: but, instead of embarking himself, made haste to London; and put himself now into the earl of Manchester's army, and made a discovery of all he knew of the king's army, and a description of the persons and customs of those who principally commanded; so that as they well knew the constitution and weakness of the king's army, so they had advertisement of the earl of Northampton's being gone, with three regiments of horse, to the relief of Banbury. Whereupon, within two days after, all those forces which had been under Essex and Waller, being united with Manchester, (with whom likewise the trained bands of London were now joined; all which made up a body of above eight thousand foot; the number of their horse being not inferior,) advanced towards the king, who had not half the number

before the departure of the earl of Northampton, and stayed still at Newbury with a resolution to expect the return of that earl, that he might likewise do somewhat for Basing; not believing that the enemy could be so soon united.

It was now too late to hope to make a safe retreat to Oxford, when the whole body of the enemy's army, which had received positive orders to fight the king as soon as was possible, appeared as n ar as Thackham; so that his majesty, not at all dismayed, resolved to stand upon the defensive only; hoping that, upon the advantage [he had] of the town of Newbury and the river, the enemy would not speedily advance; and that in the mean time, by being compelled to lodge in the field, which grew now to be very cold, whilst his army was under cover, they might be forced to retire. The king quartered in the town of Newbury; and placed strong guards on the south of the town: but the greatest part of the army was placed towards the enemy's quarters, in a good house belonging to Mr. Doleman at Shaw, and in a village near it, defended by the river that runs under Donnington-castle, and in a house between that village and Newbury, about which a work was cast up, and at a mill upon the river of Kennet; all which lay almost east from the town. Directly north from thence were too open fields, where most of the horse stood with the train of artillery, and about half a mile west was the village of Speen; and beyond it a small heath. In this village lay all prince Maurice's foot, and some horse, and at the entrance of the heath a work was cast up, which cleared the heath. And

in this posture they had many skirmishes with the enemy for two days, without losing any ground; and the enemy was still beaten off with loss.

On Sunday morning, the seven and twentieth of October, by the break of day, one thousand of the earl of Manchester's army, with the trained bands of London, came down the hill; and passed the river that was by Shaw; and, undiscovered, forced that guard which should have kept the pass that was near the house; that was intrenched where sir Bernard Astley lay; who instantly, with a good body of musketeers, fell upon the enemy; and not only routed them, but compelled them to rout two other bodies of their own men, who were coming to second them. In this pursuit very many of the enemy were slain, and many drowned in the river, and above two hundred arms taken. There continued, all that day, very warm skirmishes in several parts; the enemy's army having almost encompassed the king's; and with much more loss to them, than to the king; till, about three of the clock in the afternoon, Waller with his own, and the forces which had been under Essex, fell upon the quarter at Speen, and passed the river; which was not well defended by the officer who was appointed to guard it with horse and foot, very many of them being gone off from their guards, as never imagining that they would, at that time of day, have attempted a quarter that was thought the strongest of all. But having thus got the river, they marched in good order, with very great bodies of foot, winged with horse, towards the heath; from whence the horse which were left there, with too little resistance, retired; being in truth much overpowered, by rea-

son the major part of them, upon confidence of security of the pass, were gone to provide forage for their horse.

By this means the enemy possessed themselves of the ordnance which had been planted there, and of the village of Speen; the foot which were there retired to the hedge next the large field between Speen and Newbury; which they made good: at the same time, the right wing of the enemy's horse advanced under the hill of Speen, with one hundred musketeers in the van, and came into the open field, where a good body of the king's horse stood, which at first received them in some disorder; but the queen's regiment of horse, commanded by sir John Cansfield, charged them with so much gallantry, that he routed that great body; which then fled; and he had the execution of them near half a mile; wherein most of the musketeers were slain, and very many of the horse; insomuch that that whole wing rallied not again that night. The king was at that time with the prince, and many of the lords, and other his servants, in the middle of that field; and could not, by his own presence, restrain those horse, which at the first approach of the enemy were in that disorder, from shamefully giving ground. So that if sir John Cansfield had not, in that article of time, given them that brisk charge, by which other troops were ready to charge them in the flank, the king himself had been in very great danger.

At the same time, the left wing of the enemy's horse advanced towards the north side of the great field; but, before they got thither, Goring, with the earl of Cleveland's brigade, charged them so vigorously, that he forced them back in great con-

fusion over a hedge; and following them over that hedge, was charged by another fresh body, which he defeated likewise, and slew very many of the enemy upon the place; and having not only routed and beaten them off their ground, but endured the shot of three bodies of their foot in their pursuit, and in their retreat, with no considerable damage, save that the earl of Cleveland's horse falling under him, he was taken prisoner; which was an extraordinary loss. Whilst this was doing on that side, twelve hundred horse, and three thousand foot, of those under the earl of Manchester, advanced with great resolution upon Shaw-house, and the field adjacent; which quarter was defended by sir Jacob Astley and colonel George Lisle; and the house, by lieutenant colonel Page. They came singing of psalms; and, at first, drove forty musketeers from a hedge, who were placed there to stop them; but they were presently charged by sir John Brown, with the prince's regiment of horse; who did good execution upon them, till he saw another body of their horse ready to charge him, which made him retire to the foot in Mr. Doleman's garden, which flanked that field, and gave fire upon those horse, whereof very many fell; and the horse thereupon wheeling about, sir John Brown fell upon their rear, and killed many, and kept that ground all the day; when the reserve of foot, commanded by colonel Thelwell, galled their foot with several volleys, and then fell on them with the but-ends of their muskets, till they had not only beaten them from the hedges, but quite out of the field; leaving two drakes, some colours, and many dead bodies behind them. At this time, a great body of their foot

attempted Mr. Doleman's house, but were so well entertained by lieutenant colonel Page, that, after they had made their first effort, they were forced to retire in such confusion, that he pursued them from the house with a notable execution, insomuch that they left five hundred dead upon a little spot of ground; and they drew off the two drakes out of the field to the house, the enemy being beaten off, and retired from all that quarter.

It was now night; for which neither party was sorry; and the king, who had been on that side where the enemy only had prevailed, thought that his army had suffered likewise in all other places. He saw they were entirely possessed of Speen, and had taken all the ordnance which had been left there; whereby it would be easy for them, before the next morning, to have compassed him round; towards which they might have gone far, if they had found themselves in a condition to have pursued their fortune.

Hereupon, as soon as it was night, his majesty, with the prince, and those lords who had been about him all the day, and his regiment of guards, retired into the fields under Donnington-castle, and resolved to prosecute the resolution that was taken in the morning, when they saw the huge advantage the enemy had in numbers, with which he was like to be encompassed, if his forces were beaten from either of the posts. That resolution was, "to "march away in the night towards Wallingford;" and to that purpose, all the carriages and great ordnance had been that morning drawn under Donnington-castle; so he sent orders to all the officers to draw off their men to the same place;

and receiving intelligence at that time that prince Rupert was come, or would be that night at Bath, that he might make no stay there, but presently be able to join with his army, his majesty himself, with the prince, and about three hundred horse, made haste thither, and found prince Rupert there, and thence made what haste they could back towards Oxford. The truth is, the king's army was not in so ill a condition, as the king conceived it to have been: that party which were in the field near Speen, kept their ground very resolutely; and although it was a fair moonshine night, the enemy, that was very near them, and much superior in number, thought not fit to assault or disturb them. That part of the enemy that had been so roughly treated at Shaw, having received succour of a strong body of horse, resolved once more to make an attempt upon the foot there; but they were beaten off as before; though they stood not well enough to receive an equal loss, but retired to their hill, where they stood still. And this was the last action between the armies; for about ten of the clock at night, all the army, horse, foot, and cannon, upon the king's orders, drew forth their several guards to the heath about Donnington-castle; in which they left most of their wounded men, with all their ordnance, ammunition, and carriages; and then prince Maurice, and the other officers, marched in good order away to Wallingford, committing the bringing up the rear to sir Humphrey Bennet, (who had behaved himself very signally that day,) who, with his brigade of horse, marched behind, and received not the least disturbance from the enemy; who, in so light a night, could not but

know of the retreat, and were well enough pleased to be rid of an enemy that had handled them so ill. By the morning, all the army, foot as well as horse, arrived at Wallingford; where having refreshed a little, they marched to Oxford, without seeing any party of the enemy that looked after them.

Many made a question which party had the better of the day; and either was well enough with their success. There could be no question there were very many more killed of the enemy, than of the king's army; whereof were missing only sir William St. Leger, lieutenant colonel to the duke's regiment of foot; lieutenant colonel Topping, and lieutenant colonel Leake, both officers of horse, who were all there slain, with not above one hundred common soldiers, in all places. The earl of Brentford, general of the army, was wounded on the head; sir John Cansfield, sir John Greenvil, and lieutenant colonel Page, were wounded; but all recovered. The officers of the enemy's side were never talked of, being, for the most part, of no better families than the common soldiers. But it was reasonably computed, by those who saw the action in all places, that there could not be so few as one thousand dead upon the place: but because the king's army quitted the field, and marched away in the night, the other side thought themselves masters; and the parliament celebrated their victory with their usual triumphs; though, within few days after, they discerned that they had little reason for it. They came to know, by what accident was not imagined, that the earl of Brentford remained that night in the castle, by reason of the hurt in his

head, and so sent colonel Urry to him to persuade him to give up the castle, and to make him other large offers; all which the general rejected with the indignation that became him. No more shall be said of the colonel, because, after all his tergiversations, he chose at last to lose his life for and in the king's service; which ought to expiate for all his transgressions, and preserve his memory from all unkind reflections.

The next day, when they knew that the king's army was retired, and not till then, they made haste to possess themselves of Newbury; and then drew up their whole army before Donnington-castle, and summoned the governor "to deliver it to "them, or else they would not leave one stone "upon another." To which the governor made no other reply, than "that he was not bound "to repair it; but however he would, by God's "help, keep the ground." Afterwards seeing his obstinacy, they offered him "to march away with "their arms, and all things belonging to the gar-"rison;" and, when that moved not, that he "should carry all the cannon and ammunition "with him:" to all which he answered, "that "he wondered they would not be satisfied with "so many answers that he had sent," and desired them "to be assured, that he would not go out of "the castle, till the king sent him order so to do." Offended with these high answers, they resolved to assault it; but the officer who commanded the party being killed, with some few of the soldiers, they retired, and never after made any attempt upon it, but remained quietly at Newbury in great faction among themselves; every man taking upon

himself to find fault, and censure what had been done, and had been left undone, in the whole day's service.

The king met prince Rupert, as he expected, with colonel Gerrard, and sir Marmaduke Langdale; and made all the haste he could to join those forces with his own army, that so he might march back to Newbury, and disengage his cannon and carriages. By the way he met the earl of Northampton, and those regiments which had relieved Banbury; and having with marvellous expedition caused a new train of artillery to be formed, he brought his army again to a rendezvous on Bullington Green; where, with the addition of those forces, and some foot, which he drew out of Oxford, under the command of colonel Gage, it appeared to be full six thousand foot, and five thousand horse; with which he marched to Wallingford; and within a day more than a week after he had left Donnington-castle, found himself there again in so good a posture, that he resolved not to decline fighting with the enemy; but would be first possessed of his cannon, and put some provision into the castle; which he accomplished without any opposition.

The enemy's army lay still at Newbury, perplexed with the divisions and factions among their own officers, without any notice of the king's advance, till a quarter of their horse was beaten up. The next morning the king put his army into battalia; prince Rupert, who was now declared general, led the van, and got possession of the heath, on the back side of the castle; from which a small party might have kept him, the entrance

into it being very steep, and the way narrower. On that heath the king's army was drawn up about noon, every one being prepared to fight; and none of the enemy appearing, they marched by the castle over the river by a mill, and two fords below it, without any opposition, and thence drew into the large field between Speen and Newbury, which was thought a good place to expect the enemy; who, in the mean time, had drawn a great body of their horse and foot into the other field toward Shaw, and had made breastworks and batteries on the back side of Newbury; which town they resolved to keep, and stand upon the defensive, as the king had done before; presuming, that they now having the warmer lodging, might better attack the king after his men had lain a night or two in the fields; it being now the month of November, but fair for that season. Some light skirmishes passed between the horse; but when the king saw upon what disadvantages he must force them to fight, he called his council together, who were unanimous in opinion, "that since he had relieved "the castle, and put sufficient provisions into it, "and that it was in his power to draw off his "ordnance and ammunition from thence, he had "done his business; and if any honour had been "lost the other day, it was regained now, by his "having passed his army over the river in the "face of theirs, and offered them battle, which "they durst not accept." Upon which the king resolved to attempt them no farther, but gave orders to retire in their view, with drums beating and trumpets sounding, the same way he came

over the river. So the king lay that night at Donnington-castle, and all the army about him.

The king had not yet done all he meant to do, before he took up his winter quarters, and was willing that the enemy should have an opportunity to fight with him, if they desired it: and therefore, on the Sunday morning the tenth of November, his majesty marched with all his cannon and ammunition over the heath from Donnington, over a fair campaign, to Lamborne; in which march, some of the enemy's horse attempted his rear, but were repulsed with loss; many being slain, and some taken prisoners. There the king quartered that night and the next day, to refresh his men for the ill lodging they had endured at Donnington; having sent some persons of great reputation and interest to Marlborough, to make large provisions for him and his army. And then, since he heard the enemy lay still at Newbury, he marched to Marlborough; where he found all things to his wish. His heart was set upon the relief of Basing, which was now again distressed; the enemy having, as is said before, begirt it closely, from the time that Gage had relieved it. And he had a great mind to do it with his whole army, that thereby he might draw the enemy to a battle; but, upon full debate, it was concluded, "that the safest way "would be to do it by a strong party; that one "thousand horse should be drawn out, every "one of which should carry before him a bag of "corn, or other provisions, and march so as to be "at Basing-house the next morning after they "parted from the army; and then every trooper

" was to cast down his bag, and to make their " retreat as well as they might:" and colonel Gage, who had so good success before, was appointed to command this party; which he cheerfully undertook to do. And the better to effect it, Hungerford was thought the fitter place to quarter with the army, and from thence to despatch that party: so his majesty marched back to Hungerford, which was half way to Newbury: the enemy was in mean time marched from thence to Basing, which they thought would, upon the sight of their whole army, presently have yielded; but finding the marquis still obstinate to defend it, they were weary of the winter war, and so retired all their force from thence, and quitted the siege the very day before Gage came thither; so that he easily delivered his provisions, and retired to the king without any inconvenience. His majesty then marched to Farringdon, with some hope to have surprised Abingdon in his way; but he found it too well provided; and so after he had considered where to quarter his horse, which had hitherto had their head quarter at Abingdon, and those places which were now under the power of that governor, he returned to Oxford; where he arrived, to the universal joy, on the three and twentieth of November; a season of the year fit for all the troops to be in their winter quarters.

The king was exceedingly pleased to find how much the fortifications there had been advanced by the care and diligence of the lords; and was very gracious in his acknowledgment of it to them. And the governor, sir Arthur Aston, having, some months before, in the managing his horse in the fields,

caused him to fall, had in the fall broken his leg, and, shortly after, been compelled to cut it off; so that, if he recovered at all, which was very doubtful, he could not be fit for any active service; his majesty resolved to confer that government upon another. Of which resolution, with all the circumstances of grace and favour, and sending him a warrant for one thousand pounds a year pension for his life, he gave him notice; and then, to the most general satisfaction of all men, he conferred that government upon colonel Gage, whom he had before knighted. Sir Arthur Aston was so much displeased with his successor, that he besought the king to confer that charge upon any other person; and when he found that his majesty would not change his purpose, he sent to some lords to come to him, who he thought were most zealous in religion, and desired them to tell the king from him, "that, though he was himself a Roman catholic, "he had been very careful to give no scandal to "his majesty's protestant subjects; and could not "but inform him, that Gage was the most Jesuited "papist alive; that he had a Jesuit who lived with "him; and that he was present at all the sermons "among the catholics; which he believed would "be very much to his majesty's disservice." So much his passion and animosity overruled his conscience.

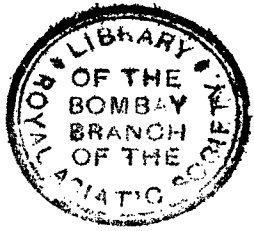
The king liked the choice he had made; and only advised the new governor, by one of his friends, "to have so much discretion in his carriage, that "there might be no notice taken of the exercise of "his religion:" to which animadversion he answered, "that he never had dissembled his religion,

" nor ever would; but that he had been so wary " in the exercise of it, that he knew there could be " no witness produced, who had ever seen him at " mass in Oxford, though he heard mass every day; " and that he had never been but once at a sermon, " which was at the lodging of sir Arthur's daugh- " ter, to which he had been invited with great im- " portunity, and believed now that it was to entrap " him." But the poor gentleman enjoyed the office very little time; for within a month, or thereabout, making an attempt to break down Culham-bridge near Abingdon, where he intended to erect a royal fort, that should have kept that garrison from that side of the country, he was shot through the heart with a musket bullet. Prince Rupert was present at the action, having approved, and been much pleased with the design, which was never pursued after his death; and in truth the king sustained a wonderful loss in his death; he being a man of great wisdom and temper, and among the very few soldiers, who made himself to be universally loved and esteemed.

Though the king's condition was now much better, than, in the beginning of the summer, he had reason to expect, (he had broken and defeated two armies of the parliament, and returned into his winter quarter with advantage, and rather with an increase than diminution of his forces,) yet his necessities were still the same, and the fountains dried up from whence he might expect relief; his quarters shortened and lessened by the loss of the whole north: for after the battle of York, the Scots returned to reduce Newcastle, which they had already done, and all other garrisons which had held out for

the king; and when that work should be throughly and sufficiently done, it must be expected that army should again move southward, and take such other places, as the parliament should not be at leisure to look after themselves.

END OF VOL. IV.



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